Eighteenth-Century Periodicals as Agents of Change

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Eighteenth-Century Periodicals as Agents of Change

Perspectives on Northern Enlightenment

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Cover illustration: "Læsende dreng ved kunstigt lys" (Boy reading by artificial light), painting/oil on canvas by Jens Juel, 1763–1764. Reproduced courtesy of Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

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Introduction

Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding and Mona Ringvej

In many ways, journals as a medium define the essence of eighteenth-century Enlightenment. The fast and vast dissemination of ideas and debates made possible by a growing number of periodicals is at the core of the Enlightenment ideal and goes a long way towards defining the period. Journals truly took off at the beginning of the century with the enormous fame and popularity of the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and their many imitators throughout Europe. All of them helped to shape a new audience of citizens keen to discuss knowledge, morals, literature, and politics. This development reached an apex when Kant made the pages of journals the chosen locus for his essays on political philosophy—his famous answer to the era-defining question "What is Enlightenment?" was published in *Berlinische Monatsschrift* in 1784.[1] Clearly periodicals had become the favourite medium for a new era.

The focus here on journals has to do with our contention that they are essential for understanding the Enlightenment and especially its transnational nature. The periodicals of Northern Europe (Scandinavian countries in particular) play a crucial role in shaping the regional developments of this period and provide a window for exploring the scope and reach of European Enlightenment. In the process of this exploration we will consider international common ground as well as local diversity—the processes of 'cultural transfer' and local adaptation during the era. The chapters in this volume display the broad scope of eighteenth-century ideas and information, as well as their rapid dissemination through the non-linear and serendipitous processes of transmission, translation, and adaptations of texts and knowledge. The patterns that emerge point to specific traits of a distinct Northern Enlightenment that is nevertheless closely integrated with wider European and North American historical developments.

1 In a 1797 letter to Fichte, Kant explains this strategy: "My choice of the journal *Berliner Blätter* for my recent essays will make sense to you and to my other philosophizing friends […] For in that paper I can get my work published and evaluated [*beurtheilt*] most quickly, since, like a political newspaper, it comes out almost as promptly as the mail allows." Quoted in Reidar Maliks, *Kant's Politics in Context* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 4.

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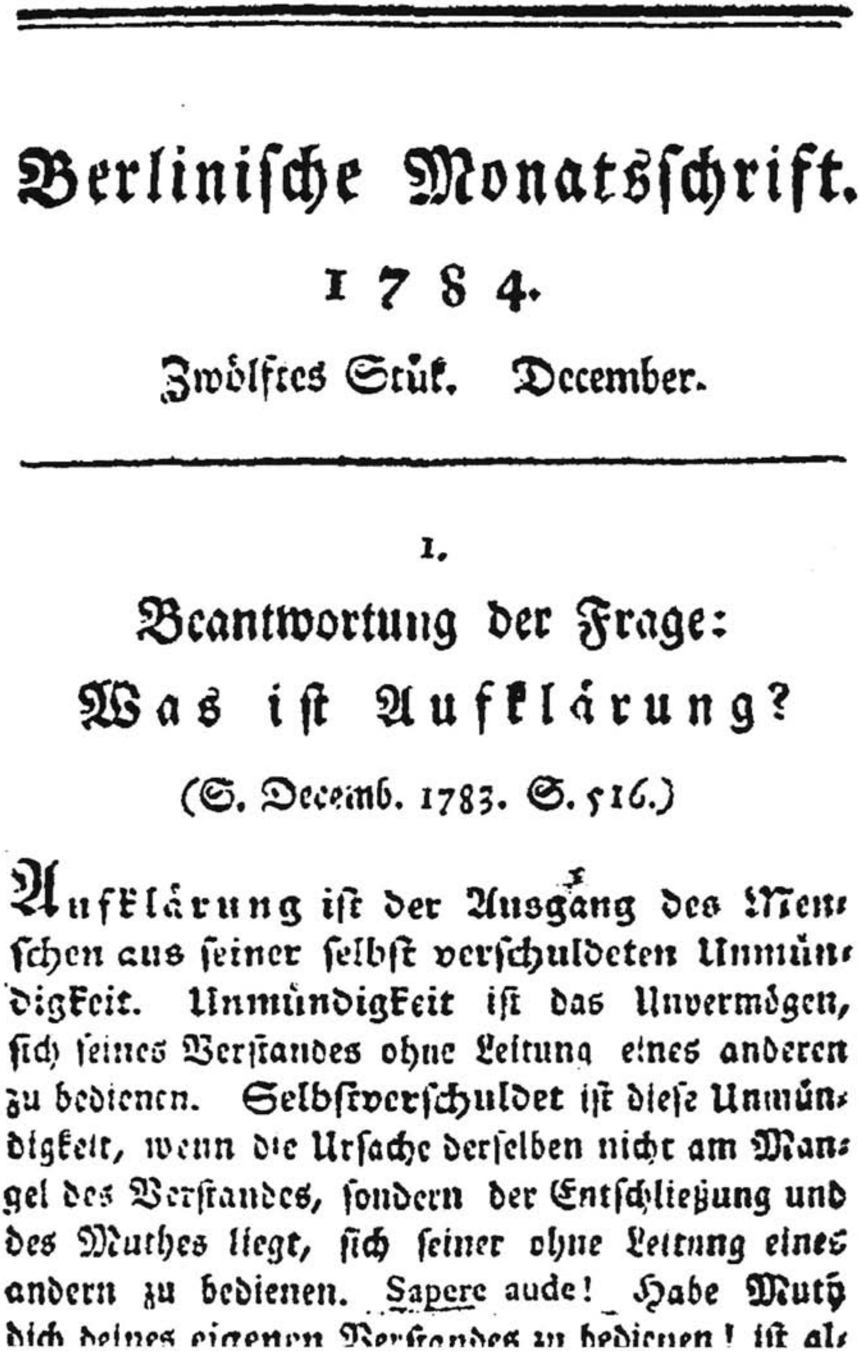

Berlinische Monatsschrift.

1784.

Zwölftes Stük. December.

1.

Beantwortung der Frage:
Was ist Aufklärung?

(S. Decemb. 1783. S. 516.)

Aufklärung ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbst verschuldeten Unmündigkeit. Unmündigkeit ist das Unvermögen, sich seines Verstandes ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Selbstverschuldet ist diese Unmündigkeit, wenn die Ursache derselben nicht am Mangel des Verstandes, sondern der Entschließung und des Muthes liegt, sich seiner ohne Leitung eines andern zu bedienen. Sapere aude! Habe Muth dich deines eigenen Verstandes zu bedienen! ist al

ILLUSTRATION 0.1 *Kant's famous article, "An answer to the question: What is Enlightenment?", was printed in* Berlinische Monatsschrift *for December 1784, in response to an ongoing debate in the journal.*
IMAGE: © AUTHOR

Rethinking the Public Sphere

Over the past four decades, research on the Enlightenment has placed considerable emphasis on the media revolution and the development of a 'public sphere'. Debates over how to understand and describe this term have largely taken as their starting point Reinhardt Koselleck's *Critique and Crisis* and Jürgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.[2] The English translation of Habermas's work in particular contributed to an important development in Enlightenment studies in the 1990s: the focus shifted from the history of ideas to the history of places and communication practices.

However, the indistinct use of 'public sphere' as both a descriptive, historical term and a normative model (following Habermas) raised a number of problems for historians. Some of the more empirical research has led to substantial modifications of both Habermas's and Koselleck's theoretical models and shown how complex and manifold the eighteenth-century public sphere actually was. Several studies use this critical term to encompass an expanded notion of which social groups constituted 'the public'. The term is also often used for both a socially broader public and a greater variety of places, communication practices, genres, and media. An early example is Richard Sennett's book *The Fall of Public Man* (1977). Independently of Habermas, and using a very different approach, he too focused on the distinctly public culture flourishing in urban eighteenth-century spaces such as streets, coffee houses, music halls, and theatres.[3] Sennett's study made theatricality a key to all of eighteenth-century public culture, bearing not only on the theatre itself but also on politics, social interaction, printed texts, and various literary genres.

Recent approaches and perspectives have expanded our understanding of the Enlightenment public sphere as a space crowded with much more than rational, bourgeois debate that opposed political absolutism (Habermas) or the utopian anti-statism of secret masonic lodges (Koselleck). It is packed, for example, with radical underground literature (Darnton); splendid royal representations (Blanning); female-dominated salon conversations (Goodman); popular 'ephemera' such as chapbooks, pamphlets, and broadsheets (Murphy and O'Driscoll); and various forms of social and textual theatricality.[4]

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2 Reinhardt Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge, MIT press, 1988) and Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge MA, Polity, 1989).

3 Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, Knopff, 1977).

4 Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-sellers of Pre-revolutionary France* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1995) and *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 2010); T.C.W. Blanning, *The Power of Culture and*

Cultural Transfer: Enlightenment at Large

This field of research has expanded not only to include more social and literary layers in its study of Enlightenment culture within Europe's central and dominant states—it has also broadened its scope geographically to consider the importance of Europe's periphery during the Enlightenment era. While France, Britain, and Germany have been the traditional focal points of Enlightenment studies, recent work on the outskirts of Europe has revealed media revolutions, communication practices, and aspects of the Enlightenment that were more far-ranging and diverse than earlier scholarship might have assumed.

The volume *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (2008) helped to broaden discussions about Enlightenment ideas and discourses to include southern, eastern, and northern Europe.[5] Additionally—and perhaps even more importantly—it also called into question the whole constellation that presupposed Europe's peripheries as passive recipients of impulses and ideas from the dominant parts of Europe. Upon closer inspection, these countries at Europe's margins emerge as centres of mediation and reflection in their own right. They respond to their own local conditions (their own 'centres') by transmitting, translating, discussing, and adapting a variety of ideas, values, and concepts as well as texts (including different genres and media).

This perspective forces us to revise any notion of the Enlightenment as a unified, intellectually coherent set of ideas or practices originating in France and penetrating other parts of Europe or the world with varying degrees of success. It would be equally wrong-headed to view the Enlightenment as an intellectual phenomenon determined solely by national context.[6] Enlightenment is a transnational and complex phenomenon, based on media and communication practices as well as ideas. Its transmission relies on networking, translation, and mediation. This view of the Enlightenment eschews traditional comparative approaches, which generally treat national cultures as clear-cut, autonomous entities with independent origins, and calls instead for a focus on 'cultural transfer'. As Michel Espagne and Michael Werner demonstrated in the 1980s, in

the Culture of Power: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002); Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters. A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1994); Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll (eds.), *Studies in Ephemera. Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print* (Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2013).

5 Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies, and Gabriel Sánchez Espinoza (eds.), *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, SVEC 2008:1).

6 See Roy Porter and Miculas Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981).

their study of the international roots of German nationalism, 'cultural transfer' can serve as a useful model for studying the Enlightenment.[7] The notion of 'transfer' presupposes a circulation of concepts, values, cultural practices, genres, and texts that contribute to a transnational standard throughout eighteenth-century Europe. But it also reflects national specifications of enlightened discourses and takes into account the active and selective processes of reception and 'hybridization' (as the cultural historian Peter Burke puts it).[8]

Periodical Transfers

However, much remains to be done on cultural transfer involving Enlightenment ideas, texts, genres, media, and public spheres. For instance, assessments of Enlightenment ideas and values—and their dissemination—have traditionally focused on books, but several recent studies have called attention to the importance of overlooked genres such as ephemera for taking Enlightenment ideas to a much wider audience than was hitherto known.[9] The aim of the present volume is to provide an even more expanded, transnational historical perspective on the Enlightenment—one that offers new insights into the mediation and transfer processes involving the nascent public sphere. This perspective centres on the periodical press, which is an important focal point for the chapters in this volume. The role of periodicals is essential to any attempt at gaining a fuller understanding of public spheres throughout Enlightenment Europe as complex, transnational, historical phenomena.

Enlightenment journals have, of course, been at the core of earlier studies of the period. However, the rapid evolution and the full significance of the periodical press during the eighteenth century warrant a more systematic and analytical treatment than they have received to date.[10] This volume makes the case

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7 Ann Thomson and Simon Burrows, 'Introduction', in Thomson, Burrows and Dziembowski (eds.), *Cultural transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2010).

8 Stephanie Stockhorst, 'Introduction. Cultural transfer through translation: a current perspective in Enlightenment studies', in Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2010). On mediation, see also Clifford Siskin and William Warner (eds.), *This is Enlightenment* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2010). See also Peter Burke, *Cultural hybridity* (London, Polity, 2009).

9 See Murphy and O'Driscoll, *Studies in Ephemera.*

10 See Thomas Munck, 'Translating Enlightenment: European influences and Danish Perceptions of Identity in the Press in the Later Eighteenth Century', in Henrik Horstbøll

that the periodical press, to a far greater extent than books, made the European Enlightenment possible as a far-reaching, intellectual and historical phenomenon. Journals were largely responsible for creating access—across national, linguistic, cultural, and social borders—to the thoughts of philosophers; the news of science; the sensation of politics; the freshness of deviant opinions; and the amusement of poetry, prose, and drama. The relatively low cost of periodicals and their accessible format invited the unlearned and less prosperous to join elite and erudite readers in satisfying their curiosity and thirst for knowledge and debate. This happened even in areas dominated by absolutist regimes and severe censorship laws, which tightly regulated the printed word. The experimental use in periodical literature of content 'disguised' by theatrical and literary devices can shed light on how it was possible to exchange knowledge and even critical perspectives under these conditions.

The revolutionary impact of journals in the eighteenth century is hard to grasp today, living as we do in the midst of an ongoing media revolution. Compared to today's plethora of different media genres and the constant barrage of new information and debates on various channels and in various forums, the eighteenth-century explosion of journals may seem rather modest. Sometimes no more than four pages long, with few (if any) illustrations, and often reproducing only bits and pieces of material from other journals or larger works by Enlightenment authors, these journals might strike us as less than 'revolutionary'. Nevertheless, they were profound agents of change. They transmitted the moral, political, scientific, and aesthetic ideas of the Enlightenment faster than books could and reached a significantly broader readership.

The long eighteenth century saw the rise of urban sociability, consumer culture, and a market for printed material. People hungered for news and were eager to voice their opinions on what they read. The 'political tinkers', as the playwright Ludvig Holberg mockingly termed them—commoners discussing and resolving political issues among themselves—were harbingers of a new era of change. These new audiences appreciated the speed with which journals could transfer information (from country to country, centre to periphery, and press to subscribers). They thrived on the shift from heavy and expensive books to light and affordable journals and from the exclusive use of Latin to the inviting use of vernacular. In a revolutionary shift, the printed word now became more accessible to all, including the illiterate: information printed in the journals was read aloud, discussed, and reprinted in new translations and combinations. This process familiarized ordinary people with the topical news

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and Knud Haakonssen (eds.), *Northern Antiquities and National Identities. Perceptions of Denmark and the North in the Eighteenth Century* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabers Selskab, 2007).

and debates, which ranged from the trivial and entertaining to the profound and scientific. The public could read about revolutions and constitutions, poetry, music and theatre, the media and freedom of speech, politics and power, education, morality, religion, and the natural sciences. Underlying the debates in these journals was a palpable sense of the change affecting societies and political cultures throughout Europe at the time. By exploring the aesthetic and political practices of the print cultures and public spheres that emerged to respond to new challenges, this volume underlines the essential role of journals in shaping and transforming the textual, intellectual, and political landscape of Europe.

The journals of the eighteenth century became agents of change by mediating an urge to write and read, and by disseminating the intellectual efforts of the Enlightenment. As Aina Nøding shows in her chapter in the present volume, the readers of the provincial Norwegian town Bergen were in fact the first in Denmark–Norway to see a translation (if only an excerpt) of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Later, Paine's radical ideas in *The Age of Reason* became accessible to the Dano-Norwegian reading public through the journal *Politisk og Physisk Magazin*, which in the spring of 1795 published large translated sections of the book.[11] When the French Revolution imposed a new constitution, it was the subject of discussions, praise, and humour from central to distant towns of Denmark–Norway (one of the most centralized monarchies at the time). Moreover, these discussions about revolutions, freedom of speech, and new constitutions paved the way for the revolutionary act of 1814, when Norway declared itself a sovereign state with a constitution broadly based upon the revolutionary constitution of 1791, in which France had abolished absolutism by proclaiming itself a constitutional monarchy.

Northern Perspectives

If Scandinavia seems exotic to continental readers of today, it seemed even more so in the eighteenth century. Still, the image of Scandinavia was not a uniform one. Denmark–Norway and the Swedish kingdom (which also included Finland) took their separate routes through the Enlightenment era. Early on in this century, the Swedish kingdom became a centre of scientific development, attracting a range of Enlightenment thinkers. This was the kingdom's 'Age of Liberty' (1720–1772), so named for its liberal market reforms and abolishment of

11 See Thomas Munch, 'The Troubled Reception of Thomas Paine in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Scandinavia', in S.P. Newman and P. Onuf (eds.), *Paine and Jefferson in the Age of Revolutions* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2013).

absolutism, for its struggle for growth and development rather than warfare and imperial ambitions. Sweden furthermore became the first state in the region to introduce freedom of the press, in 1766. Six years later, however, Gustav III reintroduced absolutism, and in 1774 curbed freedom of the press substantially.

This series of setbacks alternating with periods of increased freedom is in some ways similar to the development in Denmark–Norway. This twin kingdom was considered somewhat backward relative to the rest of Enlightenment Europe, but this perception changed when the royal physician, Friedrich Struensee (acting as regent to the king), introduced a series of reforms in the spirit of a bourgeois version of enlightened absolutism. His very first decree established unlimited freedom of the press in 1770. Press freedom was a pivotal issue for Enlightenment intellectuals, so this proclamation brought Denmark–Norway centre stage, causing a media sensation and inspiring Voltaire to write a solemn panegyric to the Danish king. The incident is revealing because it shows how the media and Enlightenment reforms resonated back and forth between the continent and its peripheries.

The Nordic countries offer a useful vantage point for considering certain aspects of the media revolution in Europe at the time. In Denmark–Norway, for instance, the new public sphere emerged as much from the absolutist government actively promoting the development of public media as it did from private, 'bourgeois' initiatives or from party politics. The idea of a public sphere that emerges mainly from 'below' and is censored from 'above' simply doesn't apply here. The same can be said of some other European nations, as Edoardo Tortarolo illustrates in his contribution, but this aspect of the public sphere comes to the forefront in Scandinavia. The issue of censorship and its effect on the public sphere and periodical culture is a complicated one that plays out differently in the northern countries than it does in France, Britain, and the German states. For this reason, censorship plays an important role in this book. Furthermore, this struggle between the government and an opinionated public is especially interesting in Scandinavia because literacy rates were comparatively high there in the eighteenth century. According to recent studies, 80–90 percent of the adult population in Norway could read, at least to some degree, while 20–30 percent could write.[12] Studies of book catalogues and 'reading societies' support the picture of a surprisingly literate and educated Norwegian population even in rural areas. Eighteenth century Norwegian book collections disclose a diverse and pluralistic book marked with a significant internationality.[13] This may even

12 For Norway, see studies by Jostein Fet, *Lesande bønder: Litterær kultur i norske allmugesamfunn før 1840* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1994) and *Skrivande bønder: skriftkultur på Nord-Vestlandet 1600–1850* (Oslo, Samlaget, 2003).

13 Gina Dahl, *Books in Early Modern Norway* (Leiden, Brill, 2011).

explain the presence of peasants in the discussions about human rights and constitutional matters at the end of the long century, when the Norwegian constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1814.

Scandinavian historians have already identified certain characteristics of a 'Northern Enlightenment', distinguished by Lutheranism and utilitarianism and with an 'anti-radical' or conservative bias, disseminated by state-serving *literati*. Some have pointed to 'patriotism' and patriotic motives in the Enlightenment discourses of the Northern countries to illustrate how proponents of Enlightenment ideas in Scandinavia tended to agree with the prevailing order and entertain close ties with the government.[14] In Denmark–Norway, 'civic freedom' and 'absolutism' were not mutually incompatible; rather, they were closely interrelated ideals, as the prominent journalist and professor in political sciences Jens Schielderup Sneedorff argued adamantly in the periodicals of the time.[15] Examples like these remind us that regardless of the transnational character of the Enlightenment and its media and communication practices, we still have to acknowledge that visions and ideals of the period look different from a Northern perspective.

This volume brings together case studies from Northern and Western Europe. While the main focus is on Scandinavia, the volume aims to place these cases in a wider geographical context and use this northward shift in perspective to open up new insights, which also allow us to reconsider aspects of French, German, and British Enlightenment. As some of the chapters demonstrate, the transmission and translation of ideas and information was to some extent a two-way exchange.

Enlightenment Periodicals: From International Exchange to Digital Distribution

The individual essays in this volume will deal with different kinds of 'transfers' (in the sense of transmissions and relocations) relating to the development of journals and the changes they brought about. The different kinds and levels of transfer made possible by journals created a surprisingly diverse and playful

14 Knut Ove Eliassen, 'Introduction', in Håkon With Andersen et al. (eds.), *Aemula Lauri. The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters, 1760–2010* (Sagamore Beach, Science History Publications, 2009), pp. x–xii. For patriotism, see Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd. Patriotisk diskurs og militære reformer i Danmark i siste del af 1700-tallet* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum, 2000).

15 For example Sneedorff's own spectator journal, *Den patriotiske Tilskuer* (Copenhagen, 1761–1763).

public sphere of print, shaped by a great variety of voices, textual strategies, and genres. This was true even at Europe's periphery. The volume explores the historical, political, and literary traits of this diverse sphere from manifold perspectives and disciplines by addressing four kinds of transfer: international, political, theatrical, and digital. The common denominator is the focus on textual transfer: how ideas, opinions, facts, norms, or particular pieces travel, leading to reform and debate—or entertainment and oblivion. The resulting insights contribute to a deeper understanding of eighteenth-century journals and society.

The opening section, *International transfers*, looks at how editors, authors, technologies, periodical genres and texts moved across borders by way of travel, translation, adaptation, and appropriation. In the broadly focused introductory chapter, Jonathan Israel demonstrates how the Dano–Norwegian and Swedish–Finnish Enlightenments moved at different paces but at times took centre stage in the international enlightened public sphere. As Israel suggests, these developments resulted from Scandinavian responses to radical and moderate Enlightenment ideas.

Ingemar Oscarsson relates how learned journals were vital to the diffusion and reception of new texts and ideas across European borders. New books were introduced and reviewed, and reviews themselves were reprinted, translated, and adapted. In Sweden demand grew for learned journals that would appeal to new groups of readers, and many new journals appeared, increasingly in the vernacular. Similarly, Aina Nøding shows how a seemingly peripheral Norwegian town like Bergen could be home to an editor eager to keep his fellow citizens up-to-date with the latest on European literature and political theory. By providing one of the first translations of Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, he made Bergen one of the first places in Europe where the non-English-speaking public had access to Paine's tract. As this example illustrates, periodicals, with their ability to provide speedy translations of new texts to a broad public, were an important disseminator of ideas throughout Europe.

The dissemination and communication of texts and ideas went back and forth between Europe and Scandinavia, as Mathias Persson shows in a case study that looks at continental reception of Scandinavian developments. Persson demonstrates how the German writer von Schlözer used the case of absolutist Sweden to discuss and praise different forms of constitutions. Writing from outside the country, von Schlözer could express his views on the subject more freely, but he was also clearly bound by loyalty to the Swedish system, which he knew well from living in Sweden over several years. Merethe Roos similarly explores how news and sensations travelled around Europe, by analysing two different reports on the Struensee affair in British periodicals.

Here, too, the affair was adapted to local conditions and used extensively to illustrate the political and moral outlook of the two periodicals—thus seemingly telling two rather different stories.

The next section, *Political transfers*, explores different government attitudes towards writing, selling, and consuming news and opinions. Edoardo Tortarolo points out that although Habermas all but ignored the issue of censorship, it was an ever-present fact of life for most Europeans involved in print production in the eighteenth century. Censorship was not merely repressive: as several of the authors in this volume point out, it affected what to print as well as how, when, and for whom to print it. Jakob Maliks's chapter further explores the role of censorship in early eighteenth-century Denmark–Norway and presents a range of motivations that prompted the government not only to tighten but also at times to loosen the bonds of censorship. Maliks relates how the Dano-Norwegian government found it necessary to stop censoring writings on economic topics and actually *invite* the public to write and publish their ideas on the economy. In this case the king realized he would benefit from allowing the print media more freedom, even if it meant exposing himself to criticism. The need for knowledge to help shape economic policies turned out to be more important than the sovereign's infallibility.

The question of freedom of the press came to the fore with the Danish reception in the 1740s of the new imported genre of *The Spectator*, also called 'moral weeklies'. Ellen Krefting demonstrates how these periodicals challenged the limits set by local censorship. By adapting the format of *Spectator*-style journals to a Danish context, writers and editors in Copenhagen acquired new textual strategies for overcoming and questioning the curtailed freedom of expression. Thus the Danish spectator journals of the 1740s point to how the all-pervasive existence of censorship shaped, but also stimulated, the press in the eighteenth century—with the aid of international impulses.

Later, however, during the era of press freedom under Struensee (1770–1772), the government got more information than it had bargained for. As Kjell Lars Berge relates in his chapter, this period of liberalization caused confusion among writers, who—lacking any real experience with free speech—strove to find the right genres for this short-lived experiment. The result was a jumble of pamphlets and periodicals that have generally been regarded as shockingly low in quality. Even after these liberties were curbed, the journals continued to trouble the king's men. Hilde Sandvik relates cases of openly critical journal articles on economic policy at the end of the century, an era when criticism became increasingly more dangerous after the execution of Louis XVI in 1793. In the aftermath of that shocking event, convincing the authorities of one's loyalty to the king and monarchy took on increased significance. Dag Michalsen

gives us another glimpse of the situation at the end of the century, in which the legal periodicals published in Denmark–Norway posed a clear challenge to the state's autocratic ideology. These journals were preoccupied with a topic closely related to revolutionary Europe: constitutional changes. Challenges to the system of censorship could be even more overt.

Negotiations of new and revolutionary texts and ideas played out not only on the metaphorical stage of public discussions but also on theatrical stages. In the section *Theatrical transfers*, we explore the interactions between stage, society, and the theatricality of texts, genres, and various media. The theatre was an important institution during this era, and its rise was a widely discussed topic. During the French Revolution, for instance, theatre was a significant form of mass media with a vital role in shaping spectators into citizens.[16] Even at the outskirts of Europe, theatre and opera grew into important political stages. Anette Storli Andersen describes how theatre life in Christiania (Oslo), a town with no public theatre institutions, tapped into the theatre fashion of the day by privately staging plays that prescribed the patriotic attitudes that were essential to the Enlightenment twin-kingdom. Taking part in theatre productions was a means for the participants to develop and display their virtue and feeling, thus becoming good citizens, perhaps even trained politicians. In Erling Sandmo's contribution, we see this interaction of politics and theatricality at the seat of power during the reign of the Swedish absolutist king Gustav III. Gustav used the opera and periodicals to stage his power in an assertive way as his rule became increasingly autocratic. Mona Ringvej focuses on textual expressions of the theatricality of social life and communication. She shows how throughout the eighteenth century the theatricality of the representative public sphere found expression in print media, which were filled to the brim with genres of courtly behaviour, such as the panegyric. Panegyrics often sugar-coated the bitter pills of critique, or acted as 'theatrical' outfits and predefined 'scripts' for a *sotto voce* message of demand. The delicacies of implicit conventions and discourses, as in the masks and repertoire of learned societies, are what Eivind Tjønneland explores. He draws attention to a striking feature of much of eighteenth-century text production: the seemingly endless flow of empty phrases on morality and taste. Tjønneland argues that these phrases must be understood as signs of tacit knowledge, making them significant, albeit sometimes mysterious, signs of their times.

The enormous quantity of texts and information moving across genres, media, and borders in Enlightenment Europe makes this topic of study a

16 Susan Maslan, *Revolutionary Acts: Theater, Democracy, and the French Revolution* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

compelling one. However, from a scholarly perspective, the question arises of how best to access, organize, analyse, and present this vast material. The section *Digital transfers* addresses these challenges from the points of view of two digitization projects that are currently indexing and publishing eighteenth-century journals online. In Oslo an ongoing project is digitizing important Norwegian journals published before 1820. Hege Stensrud Høsøien presents the difficulties faced and solutions offered by the National Library of Norway as it incorporates this material into the overarching project of digitizing the entire library holdings. She points to collaborations with scholars as vital means for developing and securing good metadata to use in both digitization and bibliographical production. Collaboration between research and digitization is also at the heart of a major German project. Flemming Schock presents a joint venture between the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen and Leipzig University Library to digitize and index learned journals of the German Enlightenment. In addition, he discusses how these journals became vital for the exchange of knowledge and discourses across Europe. Today, the digitization of periodicals enables a second and universal transfer of and access to these Enlightenment texts. In addition, the indexing of articles and search options opens up new insights into and cross-references of this international exchange. Tracing movements of texts or ideas is made infinitely easier than it was just a few years back, and this technology has helped scholars arrive at some of the findings of this volume. Digitization alters the methods used and hence also the results reached by scholars studying these periodicals.

The sections of this volume are based on somewhat arbitrary divisions, and several of the contributions could have been placed in more than one section. As a whole they hopefully display a diverse picture of the cultural and textual transfers that took place across various kinds of borders throughout Enlightenment Europe. Journals had an important role to play in the entire transmission process, and we hope that these diverse and converging contributions reflect the varied content of the periodicals themselves and also aid in the exchange and development of new ideas and research on the eighteenth-century media landscape.

PART 1

International Transfers

CHAPTER 1

Northern Varieties: Contrasting the Dano-Norwegian and the Swedish–Finnish Enlightenments

Jonathan Israel

Enlightened Reform in Sweden–Finland

European observers from elsewhere on the continent from time to time through the eighteenth century made occasional efforts to sum up the general characteristics of the Enlightenment in Scandinavia and assess the relationship between the respective enlightenments of Sweden–Finland and Denmark–Norway. The various evaluations of how the Enlightenment played out differently in the region are of interest in themselves and instructive as we evaluate what we might consider the lasting characteristics of Scandinavian Enlightenment.

During the middle decades of the eighteenth century, mainstream Enlightenment thought made impressive advances in Scandinavia and was widely greeted at court and among the upper classes (including within broad sections of the clergy) in both of the region's two multiple kingdoms. By 1750 the values of the conservative, religious, and pro-aristocratic enlightenment were so pervasive that the Scandinavian elite conceived of and projected themselves as quintessentially 'upplyst' (enlightened).[1] This emerges clearly from the language of administrative and public rhetoric, the growing appetite for religious, legal and social reform, science and learning, and from the flourishing newspapers and published periodicals—the Enlightenment's favourite means of expression.

Science and learning led the way. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences was founded in 1739, on the initiative of the 'Hat' party in the *Riksdag*; the Danish Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters opened its doors in 1742, followed in 1760 by the Royal Society of Science and Letters, founded at Trondheim on the initiative of Bishop Johan Ernst Gunnerus.[2] While the sway

1 Marie-Christine Skuncke, 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Swedish Eyes around 1760', in R. Butterwick et al. (eds.), *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2008), pp. 87–91, 103; for Norway, see Harald Næss, 'Holberg and the Age of Enlightenment', in Harald Næss (ed.) *A History of Norwegian Literature* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1993), pp. 54–75.

2 Næss, 'Holberg and the Age of Enlightenment', p. 71.

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of Leibnizian-Wolffian philosophy remained broadly intact in Scandinavian universities from around 1740 until the 1780s, especially in Sweden,[3] and German cultural influence remained strong, recent developments in French and British thought had sparked a lively interest. By the mid-eighteenth century court Enlightenment cosmopolitanism and a vigorous mercantilism, which nurtured science and technology as tools for achieving social goals, were particularly striking features of the northern monarchies.

Often omitted from modern surveys of the Enlightenment, Scandinavia in early modern times exerted more weight, politically, strategically, economically and also culturally in Europe—and the Western world generally—than in more recent times, although the Enlightenment's progress in Scandinavia at the time went largely unrecognized in the rest of enlightened Europe. The first issue of the *Dänische Bibliothec,* a learned periodical published in Copenhagen in 1738, complained of the lack of publicity given to Dano-Norwegian erudition in Europe, particularly since the demise of the Lübeck *Nova literaria maris Balthici et Septentrionus*. The new journal did its best to rectify this loss to Scandinavian erudition. But simultaneously, and at cross purposes with this goal, the *Dänische Bibliothec* aspired to spread awareness within Denmark–Norway of wider European intellectual and scientific developments. To this end, it would have liked to review foreign books and reviews in Danish.[4] Yet such a move would have hampered efforts to reach a wider European audience and spread awareness outside of Scandinavia about the developments taking place there. To escape this acute dilemma, Latin suggested itself as a possible viable solution, a way to seize the attention and impress Europe's wider erudite establishment. But publishing in Latin meant falling short of another, perhaps even more important objective: propagating information about new intellectual developments to the Scandinavian public at large. The only viable solution in the end, seemingly, was to publish Denmark–Norway's premier journal in German.[5]

Enlightened foreign visitors found much to interest them in Scandinavia. One notable example was the Veronese noble and diplomat Michele Enrico Sagramoso, a disciple of Scipio Maffei. After a long and detailed tour of Europe lasting some six years (1746–1752), Sagramoso visited both Scandinavian

3 Tore Frängsmyr, *Wolffianismens genombrott i Uppsala* (Uppsala, 1972); Tore Frängsmyr, *Sökandet efter Upplysningen* (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 2006), pp. 128–141; Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 59–61, 556.

4 *Dänische Bibliothec oder Sammlung von Alten und neuen Gelehrten Sachen aus Dänemarck* I (9 vols., Copenhagen/Leipzig, 1738), I. 2 ('Vorrede').

5 *Dänische Bibliothec*, I. 3–4.

kingdoms, where he encountered enough innovative activity to detain him for many months. He encountered Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), Denmark–Norway's leading literary figure and the founder of the Danish theatre, and he inspected the vast library of the nobleman Otto Thott, which at sixty thousand volumes was considered the largest private collection in Europe. Sagramoso met the Danish royal librarian, Hans Gram (1685–1748), to whom (as he discovered) Maffei and numerous other Italian enlightened savants were familiar names. In Sweden, where he stayed nine months, he visited laboratories and mines and spent several weeks at Uppsala conferring, among others, with the naturalist Olof Celsius (1670–1756), the Wolffian philosopher Samuel Klingenstierna (1698–1765), and the celebrated Carolus Linnaeus (1707–78), of whom he was a fervent admirer. The son of a rural Lutheran pastor, Linnaeus had become professor of medicine and botany at Uppsala, succeeding Lars Roberg in 1741. In recognition of his central role as a mediator and emissary between the Italian and Swedish worlds of learning, Sagramoso, who long remained in contact with Linnaeus after departing Scandinavia, was made a foreign member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences in April 1748.[6]

In the mid-eighteenth century, Sweden was highly regarded for its impressive contributions to the sciences and its new-found republicanism, which was praised to the skies by Mably. Especially renowned abroad were the achievements of Linnaeus, for decades Europe's most celebrated naturalist and Sweden's most eminent figure. From the early 1740s, Linnaeus more and more cultivated and consolidated his stature as the pre-eminent icon of Sweden's Enlightenment and the university's foremost teacher and apostle of science. Visitors to Sweden were routinely shown how he had enlarged, developed, and reorganized Uppsala's botanical gardens as an integral component of his wider project. Impressive for the great range of his activities as a naturalist and man of learning, he forged a vast network of correspondents and former students adept in natural history, ranging across Europe and the world.

For decades Linnaeus continued refining his celebrated system of classification, first expounded in his *Systema naturae* (1735). In effect, he became the leading representative of the type of natural history that predominated in eighteenth-century Europe and was most firmly tied to what I have termed the moderate mainstream Enlightenment. Baconian and empirical, based on observation and description above all, his approach was closely aligned with

6 Renato G. Mazzolini, 'Linnaeus and Michele Enrico Sagramoso, Knight of the Order of Malta', in Marco Beretta and Alessandro Tosi (eds.), *Linnaeus in Italy. The Spread of a Revolution in Science. Uppsala Studies in History of Science* 34 (Sagamore Beach, Science History publications, 2007), pp. 69–70.

the hegemony of natural theology. Little interested in the development of life forms and the dynamic dimensions of biology, he concentrated on enlarging his static binomial classification, using two names for classifying each plant—its genus and species—to designate categories he considered divinely ordered and fixed. Many loyal adherents, including his leading apostle in Denmark–Norway, the Norwegian Martin Vahl, who studied in Uppsala in the years 1769–74 and long remained a leading figure of the 'Danish' Enlightenment, evinced a similar rigid adherence to the 'argument from design' and Linnaeus's overarching classificatory nomenclature.[7]

Impelled by a deep sense of calling, at times seeing himself as virtually a second Luther, Linnaeus propagated his physico-theology and zealous Lutheran religious commitment in numerous scholarly and intellectual contexts. Although like Newton (one of his own principal heroes) he was not actually a particularly prepossessing personality (being notorious among those who knew him well for his greed, stinginess, and arrogance), his fervently providential outlook led him to depict the true model researcher in natural history such as himself as a social and cultural teacher, and above all a God-fearing exemplar implacably opposed to all free-thinking and libertinism.[8] His physico-theological leanings combined with his classificatory system produced a view of the divisions of plant life as eternally distinct rungs in what he took to be the hierarchy of nature, in which man occupied his place firmly at the apex, as 'lord of the animals'.[9] Most warmly applauded. But his conception of botany, and biology more generally, also drew Linnaeus, the chief prophet of Scandinavian physico-theology into a bitter, prolonged quarrel with Buffon, Diderot, and Daubenton—and with the *encyclopédistes* in general. For the radical *philosophes* (and La Mettrie), unlike Rousseau and Voltaire, not only rejected but also openly derided Linnaeus's 'sexual' system and fixity of species, spurning his methodology and all the presuppositions underpinning his scientific ideas. Diderot in his *Interpretation de la nature* (1753) dismisses physico-theological, descriptive naturalists in the mode of Réaumur and Linnaeus as mere *méthodistes* lacking any real conception of what they were studying. Linnaeus, who emphasized especially the

7 Helge Kragh, *Natur, Nytte og Ånd. 1730–1850* (Aarhus, Aarhus Universitets forlag, 2005), pp. 128–30; Kurt Ballstadt, *Diderot: natural philsopher* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2008), p. 131.

8 Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus. Nature and Nation* (Cambridge Ma., Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 16, 23.

9 Louis Dupré, *The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundation of Modern Culture.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2004), p. 37; Paolo Quintili, *La Pensée critique de Diderot* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2001), pp. 297–298; Raymond Trousson, *Denis Diderot ou le vrai Prométhée* (Paris, Tallandier, 2005), p. 72.

harmony and balance of a nature supposedly resting on intelligent design, retaliated by dismissing Buffon as a naturalist without method or system and the one who 'has erred the most'.[10]

This split between the two very different and rival Enlightenment conceptions of botany and biology, one of which is deeply concerned with the dynamic and adaptive development of life forms detached from any fixed classificatory system and hostile to Linnaeus's physico-theology, runs through the whole corpus of eighteenth-century natural history. This enduring rift is fundamental to the entire history of the rivalry and friction between moderate and radical Enlightenment and all eighteenth-century scientific debate.

From around 1720 onwards, there was also an unmistakable political dimension to the Scandinavian Enlightenment. Limiting monarchical power drastically and transferring real sovereignty to the legislature under the constitution of 1720 proved a notable turning point that inaugurated what became known at the time, and has been called since, Sweden's 'Age of Liberty'. Two dominant, rival factions of the nobility alternately held power in the Swedish Riksdag and pursued their permanent quarrel, often with great bitterness at all levels.[11] Although this split profoundly affected the universities and Swedish higher learning, it was confined to practical and political matters. Philosophical realignment in the Swedish universities during the later 1730s and 1740s—with Wolffianism conquering first Uppsala, then Åbo, and finally (in the mid-1740s) Lund—was bipartisan and broadly drew in all the outstanding figures of Swedish science and scholarship. The ardent 'Hat' Linnaeus, a Cartesian as a student at Lund and then an advocate of Newtonianism during his years in Holland (1735–1738), after returning to Sweden combined devotion to physico-theology with Wolffianism and alignment with the Hats. The astronomer Anders Celsius (1701–1744), another ally of the Hats', after defecting from Cartesianism led the Wolffian drive at Uppsala. Another eager Wolffian Hat adherent was Samuel Klingenstierna (1698–1765), a prominent mathematician and physicist trained under Wolff at Marburg. Wolffianism, on the other hand, was equally entrenched among the 'Caps'. The Uppsala philosophy professor Petrus Ullén (1700–1747), also a keen Wolffian, emerged as a leader of the academic 'Caps'.[12]

10 Raymond Trousson, *Denis Diderot*, pp. 132–135, 142–144; Koerner, *Linnaeus*, p. 28; Colas Duflo, *Diderot philosophe* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2003), p. 158.

11 Sten Lindroth, *A History of Uppsala University: 1477–1977* (Stockholm, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1976), p. 95; Marie-Christine Skuncke, 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau', p. 89.

12 Evan M. Melhado and Tore Frängsmyr (eds.), *Enlightenment Science in the Romantic Era: The Chemistry of Berzelius and its Cultural Setting* (Cambridge, Cambridge university

The Hat party deliberately encouraged the Enlightenment expansion of science and new forms of erudition as a way of accruing cultural and academic prestige. The Hats closely linked this policy to their aggressive economic protectionism and a general drive to stimulate agriculture, industry, and the mechanical arts. As part of this broadening and economically orientated programme designed to help regenerate Sweden–Finland after its defeat in the Great Northern War (1700–1721), during the century's middle years the Hats supported the establishment of new disciplines and professorships, including chairs in physics, economic practice, and constitutional law. One characteristic innovation was the creation of the first chair of *oeconomia publica* [public economics].[13] Chairs of chemistry were established at Uppsala in 1750, at Lund in 1758, and at Åbo in 1761. By the early 1770s, the number of permanent professors at Uppsala had risen to twenty-four. Under the aegis of the Hats, money was found for the construction of impressive new buildings, libraries, and gardens at Uppsala, Lund, Åbo, and Greifswald. Throughout these years Uppsala received new facilities such as Anders Celsius's observatory, a chemistry laboratory, and Linnaeus's orangery.[14]

All this fed the growing complaint among the Caps that the four Swedish universities of Uppsala, Lund, Greifswald, and Åbo were now producing too many scholars for the shrinking empire's needs and that this surfeit of erudition and academic training would be bound to create social problems. A leading exponent of this view delivered a speech upon retiring from the Uppsala rectorship in 1749. In the speech he claimed that Sweden's universities were producing twice as many graduates as there were vacant posts. He urged cutting back the output of graduates to more realistic proportions. At Uppsala, in line with many of Europe's leading universities in the later Enlightenment era, the student body did in fact decline from its mid-century peak, contracting from nearly eight hundred during the 1750s to between five and six hundred during the later 1760s and 1770s, a phenomenon closely connected with the contraction of theology training.

Among the more literate sections of the Swedish population, the widespread resentment and reaction against the failed militarism and absolutism of Charles XII ensured that the 'Constitution' was admired and deemed a general benefit by many, and even something of unique excellence that was divinely

press, 2003), pp. 166–167; Elis Malmeström, *Carl von Linné's religiösa åskådning* (Stockholm, Bonnier, 1926), pp. 68, 80–89.

13 Malmeström, *Carl von Linné's religiösa åskådning*, pp. 96, 124–125; Skuncke, 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau', pp. 91, 97.

14 Koerner, *Linnaeus*, p. 102.

sanctioned.[15] In terms of its importance for national self-esteem, the Swedish–Finnish Constitution of 1720 was comparable to the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 in Britain. But there was also a striking difference: in Sweden the document meant a curtailment of monarchy and the advance of a de facto republicanism, at least for a time. Whereas the British constitution brought about 'a constitutional monarchy', the constitution in Sweden created 'the sovereignty of the Estates'.[16] Where the British monarch could still appoint and dismiss his ministers, dissolve Parliament and appoint peers when he saw fit, and integrally participate in the passing of all legislation—the drastically weakened Swedish–Finnish monarch between 1720 and 1772 possessed no comparable powers.

Not surprisingly, Sweden–Finland for several decades served as a model in the eyes of many of Europe's self-proclaimed enlightened. Yet the rationale and justifications offered to the Swedish public for the new constitution were of a distinctly traditional kind. While Sweden's political reformism in the mid-eighteenth century was influenced to a degree by Algernon Sidney and other British republican thinkers, along with Locke, the 1720 revolution was chiefly justified in terms of a supposed restoration of an historic, 'authentic' Swedish constitution. Its legitimacy was not based upon a notion of the inherent or universal rights of men. While the Swedish constitution drew the enthusiasm of the *philosophes* and appeared to diverge fundamentally from the typical eighteenth-century European monarchical context, it nevertheless retained numerous characteristically *ancien régime* features.[17] Individual liberty, especially in religious, intellectual, and sexual matters, remained restricted. Though scarcely representative of the population generally, the Swedish Diet conceived of itself to an even greater extent than the British Parliament as a fully sovereign body that could not be criticized in the press or by members of the public. Both forbade public criticism of their proceedings, but the Riksdag went further in curtailing general political and religious debate.[18] In practice, until the 1760s, there was nothing resembling liberty of the press, no freedom for non-noble individuals to participate in political discussion, and no right to criticize.

By the 1750s there was more than a hint of protest regarding these curbs in enlightened circles, and in the case of the philosopher, naturalist, and orientalist Peter Forsskål (1732–1763) this protest had a distinct radical tendency.

15 Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty. Sweden 1719–1772* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 59–62.

16 Roberts, *Age of Liberty,* p. 62.

17 Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, pp. 60–61, 66; Skuncke, 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau', pp. 87, 103.

18 Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, pp. 104–105.

A clergyman's son and former theology student raised in Finland and trained at Uppsala, Forsskål completed his studies in Germany, studying Arabic with Michaelis at Göttingen starting in 1753. He developed an unusually broad Enlightenment outlook and reacted strongly against the narrowing, intellectually stifling effects of the Wolffian ascendancy in his homeland. Forsskål's Göttingen thesis, entitled *Dubia de principiis recentioris* (Goettingae, 1756), ventured to express wide-ranging and penetrating 'doubts' about 'recent philosophy'. Arguing for toleration and freedom to philosophize, Forsskål's text, composed with Michaelis's support, featured definite hints of radical ideas as well as Hume's scepticism. On returning to Uppsala, Forsskål found himself in the midst of a theologico-philosophical uproar, denounced as a libertine in particular of by Niels Wallerius.[19] Rather daringly, Forsskål responded, in 1759, by broadening his observations into a more general critique of Swedish society, publishing a political tract in Swedish titled *Tankar om Borgerliga Friheten* (Stockholm, 1759), with a second version in Latin. The piece summoned readers to reject Sweden's excessive curtailment of freedoms and fight for 'true Swedish freedom': freedom of thought, expression, and the press (all of which were essential for making scientific progress and developing political awareness).[20] He criticized the restrictive, privileged 'aristocratic' character of access to high-offices and positions in the state resulting in the country's highest posts coming into 'unworthy hands'. In China, Forsskål contended, high offices were assigned on the basis of merit, not noble status.[21] With its echoes of Helvétius, this tract shocked both university and political authorities and was banned by the authoritarian aristocratic government. However, the ban was issued only after all five hundred privately printed copies had been distributed, and most were never recovered by the authorities.[22] Decried as a subversive and a follower of Spinoza and Bayle, Forsskål was prevented from obtaining any academic position in Sweden–Finland. The first truly notable post-Wolffian enlightener in Scandinavia, he was forced to pursue his scholarly career abroad. On Linnaeus's recommendation, he accompanied the ill-fated Danish-sponsored Niebuhr expedition to Arabia, where in 1763, after three years, he died of fever at the age of only thirty-one.[23]

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19 Frängsmyr, 'Enlightenment', p. 169; Sverker Sörlin and Otto Fegerstedt, *Linné och hans apostlar* (Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 2004), pp. 82–83; Frängsmyr, *Sökandet,* pp. 127, 139–141.

20 [Peter Forsskål], *Tankar om Borgerliga Friheten* (Stockholm, 1759), pp. 4–5.

21 [Forsskål], *Tankar,* p. 6.

22 Frängsmyr, *Sökandet*, pp. 163–164; Bengt and Agneta Åhlén, *Censur och tryckfrihet. Farliga skrifter i Sverige 1522–1954* (Södertälje, 2002), p. 71.

23 Sorlin and Fegerstedt, *Linné och hans apostlar*, pp. 13, 65.

Yet if Forsskål in his critique of the curtailment of public political discussion was ahead of his time, the parliamentary format for debating, formulating, and passing legislation generated an inherent critical logic of its own. The Riksdag's power was absolute. Of the four Estates constituting the Riksdag, the Nobility were always the most influential, exercising a strangle-hold over appointments to high civil and military offices and the diplomatic service.[24] Sweden–Finland, together with Swedish Pomerania, was, for all practical purposes, an aristocratic republic. Nevertheless, the two most notable features of Swedish society in the middle decades of the century—the country's institutionalized anti-monarchism and the impressive progress of scientific enquiry and debate—interacted in such a way as to highlight the issue of freedom of expression and publication. Although at first, in the 1720s, there were few reforms to speak of beyond the new constitution itself, by the mid-eighteenth century the Swedish quasi-republic, under the direction of the Hat party, emerged as a major innovator in the Enlightenment's quest to restructure and reorganize society and culture.

A notable step was taken in 1766 when the Riksdag passed a new press freedom ordinance. This was an example of gradualism in reform because although the ordinance claimed to abolish the prior censorship of works intended for publication, it made an exception for everything concerning religion.[25] In the case of works touching on theological issues, the clergy retained their traditional strangle-hold: as a rule, whatever was considered damaging to (the Lutheran) 'religion' was banned.[26] Nor, any more than before, was criticism of the constitution of the form of the Estates allowed.[27] Nevertheless, the measure for the first time introduced the principle that society benefited from freedom of expression and the press, and as the public discussion surrounding the reform indicates, some contemporaries wanted the changes to go even further.[28] Other liberalizing reforms followed. In 1769, the Estates set up a committee to draft procedural reforms aimed at ending arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without trial as well as the practice of judicial torture. The measure failed after being narrowly defeated by the Nobility (and more comprehensively rejected by the Burghers and Peasantry). Even so, by the late 1760s, it had become clear that the enlightened constituency among Sweden's elite were a growing force in society.

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24 Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, p. 69.

25 Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, pp. 106, 166.

26 Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, pp. 106, 166; Edvard Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk af Trykkefrihedstidens Historie 1770–1773* (Copenhagen, 1885), p. 3.

27 Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk,* pp. 9–10, 91.

28 Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk*, p. 3; Frängsmyr, *Sökandet efter Upplysningen,* p. 202.

Despite (or in the case of Montesquieu or Voltaire, because of) its severely oligarchic character, the parliamentary political system of Sweden–Finland during the so-called Age of Liberty (1720–1772) was regarded with nearly universal enthusiasm by the *philosophes*. During this period, Mably, Doria, Voltaire, and Rousseau all had resoundingly favourable things to say about Sweden and its reforms. The Huguenot Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle (1726–1773), Denmark–Norway's most subversive journal editor, opined from Copenhagen that Sweden's constitution was truly 'admirable'. Royal power, he stressed, was effectively curtailed by that of the Riksdag, while the king, unlike the English monarch, lacked the funds to corrupt either ministers or representatives; meanwhile, the nobility was allegedly too weak, of itself, to oppress the people, while the people were insufficiently strong 'pour désobéir'. In effect, the three powers, in the British style so admired by Montesquieu and the Founding Fathers of the United States, all held each other beautifully in check. In La Beaumelle's words, 'la république de Suède', more than any other land, including even Britain, had happily evaded 'la servitude'.[29]

The new Sweden–Finland, La Beaumelle did not doubt, was dedicated to peace and altogether more beneficial to its citizens than either the war-mongering, monarchical Sweden of the past or Denmark–Norway in his day. Sweden, in his estimation, had now positively replaced the Dutch Republic as Europe's freest society, particularly since the Dutch with their Orangist revolution of 1747–1748 had slavishly succumbed to the restoration of their princely dynasty and stadholderate.[30] However, the new Swedish reality, he thought, still had one major and conspicuous flaw: the Riksdag was accustomed to maintain a large professional army to defend Swedish Pomerania and especially Finland, with most of the troops garrisoned in the huge new fortifications of Sveaborg. The aim was to protect Helsinki from the Russians, but this potentially menacing and already powerful separate entity could—and (though La Beaumelle did not know it) one day would—be used by Sweden's currently powerless king as a means to overwhelm the Riksdag and subject the people again to royal absolutism.[31]

Enlightened Reform in Denmark–Norway

In contrast to the situation in Sweden–Finland, the Dano-Norwegian moderate 'Enlightenment' co-existed with both autocratic monarchy and aristocracy,

29 Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle, *Mes Pensées ou Le qu'en dira-t-on*, Claude Lauriol (ed.), (Geneva, Droz, 1997), p. 259.

30 La Beaumelle, *Mes Pensées*, pp. 235, 258.

31 La Beaumelle, *Mes Pensées*, pp. 180, 430.

presided over by a sporadically repressive court allied to the Lutheran clergy. This was clearly shown by the banning of the deistic Wertheim Bible in 1737.[32] English deists in the early eighteenth century charged that the machinations of the Dano-Norwegian clergy were behind the move to set aside the old Danish constitution and install a system of royal absolutism in 1660.[33] Yet Denmark–Norway was also in many ways untypical of the wider European monarchical Enlightenment. It was ironic and rather paradoxical that the deist who produced the Wertheim Bible, Johann Lorenz Schmidt (1702–1749), sought refuge that same year under Danish jurisdiction, in Altona; and this was also somehow fitting.

Whereas Prussia's Enlightenment derived its chief momentum and specific characteristics from the fertile brain of its authoritarian soldier-king, Frederick the Great, and Austria's from the personal commitment to reform by Joseph II, the chief characteristic of mid-eighteenth-century Danish enlightened royal reformism was the inertia and almost complete passivity of the absolutist monarch and his reliance on (mostly) aristocratic but reform-minded courtiers and advisers. Unrelenting absolutists in theory, the Danish kings of this period, Frederik V (whose reign was 1746–1766) and Christian VII (1766–1808), entirely lacked any capacity to govern personally. The royal cabinet of ministers and the heads of the administration, basically a group of moderate enlightened aristocrats, consequently dominated the process.[34]

It was a commonplace around 1770 that while Danes and Norwegians were considerably behind the Swedes and Germans in their Enlightenment, Denmark–Norway had nevertheless registered some substantial progress during the last twenty years.[35] The republican-minded La Beaumelle, writing around 1750 in Copenhagen, was much more critical of monarchical Denmark–Norway than he was of neighbouring Sweden–Finland. Dano-Norwegian improvements in politics, religion, society, and culture were much too few and too slow for his taste, and intellectual developments continued to be far too narrow. Copenhagen—with its court, university, merchants, theatres, and foreign communities—overwhelmingly (even stiflingly) dominated Dano-Norwegian literary and intellectual culture around 1750. Its leading figure was the erudite, patriar-

32 Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 554.

33 Matthew Tindal, *A New Catechism with Hickes's Thirty-Nine Articles*, 3rd edition (London, 1719 [1709]), pp. 9–10; John Christian Laursen, 'Censorship in the Nordic Countries, c. 1750–1890. Transformations in Law, Theory, and Practice', *Journal of Modern European History*, 1 (2005), p. 102; Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested. Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670–1752* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 107.

34 Frängsmyr, *Sökandet efter Upplysningen*, p. 190.

35 *Anekdoten eines reisenden Russen über die Staatsverfassung, Sitten und Gebrauche der Dänen, in Briefen an seine Freunde* (Lübeck, 1771), pp. 69, 71–72.

chal Norwegian Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), essayist, moralist, playwright, historian, and—since the age of thirty—professor at the university. Born in Bergen, Holberg travelled extensively as a young man throughout France, Italy, the Netherlands, and England, spending much time in Paris and nearly two years at Oxford (1706–1708). Acquiring a good knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, German, and English, he also took an eager interest in Old Norse and Icelandic sagas. Although he was made a baron in 1747, Holberg prided himself on not using his elevated rank as an excuse to abandon his studies, writing, or work promoting the public good.[36] The witty and refined vernacular style that characterized his essays and especially popular comedies (which often ridiculed common prejudices and prevailing opinion) assured him the widest readership of any Scandinavian Enlightenment figure.

From La Beaumelle though, Holberg received little praise. According to him Holberg owed his pre-eminence to a plagiaristic tendency nourished by wide reading but also from narrow conventionality and the general poverty of the Scandinavian cultural scene.[37] For his part, Holberg disliked La Beaumelle's tendency to assume the cultural superiority of everything emanating from France. La Beaumelle's short-lived Copenhagen journal, *La Spectatrice danoise* (1748–1750), launched in September 1748 (and initially supported by Holberg), was briefly successful. It sold sixty-four copies to the court alone; about the same number of copies among the ministries, the capital's wealthy homes, and the university; and an additional two hundred copies in Hamburg and Altona. Altogether, he calculated that he could count on selling 1,000 copies in French and another 1,000 in the Danish translation he planned with Holberg. However, the translation was never completed, in part because of difficulties with the censor and Holberg's suspicion that La Beaumelle was conspiring behind his back. Remarkably, the two editors calculated that six hundred copies of the Danish version could be expected to sell in Copenhagen and a mere four hundred more in all the rest of Denmark–Norway put together.[38]

La Beaumelle's journal stands out for its remarkably critical and egalitarian spirit, featuring many disparaging remarks about the Dano-Norwegian nobility and clergy.[39] Highly significant too is the way the journal's editor treats, as a matter of common knowledge, the ongoing struggle between deism (and also

36 Ludvig Holberg, *Memoirs*, Stewart E. Fraser (ed.) (Leiden, Brill, 1970), p. 260.

37 Claude Lauriol, *La Beaumelle: un Protestant cévenol entre Montesquieu et Voltaire* (Geneva, Droz, 1978), p. 154.

38 Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, pp. 151–153.

39 The radicalism of La Beaumelle's journal is further discussed in Krefting's chapter in this volume.

atheism) and Christianity within Danish court society. This he saw as a battle caused by the advance of 'philosophy'. He discusses the question, moreover, without particularly denouncing or vilifying irreligion: "il n'y eut jamais de guerre plus intéressante, que celle que les Déistes ont declaré depuis un siècle aux Chrétiens."[40] He even ventures to remark that in this battle concerning salvation, the immortality of the soul, divine providence, and whether Jesus Christ was an impostor or the envoy of God, the leading spokesmen on either side had thus far been admirably evenly balanced in genius and ability. In Copenhagen, La Beaumelle's journal reported, within certain circles one was continually caught up in intense debates in which "Hobbes, Bayle, Collins, Tindal, Mylord Shaftesbury, [and] Wolston" were ranged against "Grotius, Abbadie, Pascal, Ditton, Turretini, [and] Huet".[41] But if many writers contributed to Dano-Norwegian deists being numerous "parmi les gens d'un certain rang", he assured his brother in France (in April 1748) that Bayle was the thinker who undoubtedly had the greatest impact: "on estime ici beaucoup le profond savoir et le génie transcendant de Bayle, mais le prétraille le croit fort dangéreux."[42] Danish nobles sought out Bayle's books and studied him avidly; the count of Rantzau, to whom La Beaumelle was close, spoke obsessively about the philosopher every time he saw him.

In his highly successful *Moralske Tanker* [Moral Thoughts] (1744) and five volumes of *Epistler* [Essays] (1748–1754), Holberg demonstrated that he too was an admirer of Bayle.[43] However, the Bayle he prized was the erudite sceptic and advocate of toleration, not the more philosophical (and radical) Bayle of the *Pensées Diverses* and the later works. Even Holberg's plea for toleration really amounted to distaste for all rigid dogma and zeal rather than a principled advocacy of personal liberty and freedom of expression as such. Holberg agreed with Bayle and La Beaumelle that the foundation of genuine morality is 'reason'; but Holberg's 'reason' amounted to little more than a plea for orderly life style, healthy living, avoiding excess, and keeping to the mainstream. "I do not approve of customs, however prevalent," he remarked at the end of his life,

40 "There never was a more interesting war than the one declared by the Deists on the Christians one hundred years ago." Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle, *La spectatrice danoise; ou, L'aspasie moderne; ouvrage hebdomadaire* (Copenhagen, 1749–50), i, p. 465; Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, p. 87.

41 La Beaumelle, *La spectatrice danoise*, p. 466.

42 "People here think highly of the deep knowledge and the transcendent genius of Bayle, while the petty priests regard him as very dangerous." Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, p. 139.

43 P.M. Mitchell, 'The Age of Enlightenment', in S.H. Rossel (ed.) *A History of Danish Literature* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1992), pp. 136–137.

"when I do not find any justification for them."[44] Holberg's reason was of a middle-of-the-road, common-sensical kind that he combined with a bias definitely not shared by Bayle or La Beaumelle—a habitual scepticism about the value of philosophers and philosophy.[45]

Holberg and La Beaumelle quarrelled and soon ended their collaboration, doubtless because Holberg found La Beaumelle too hard to stomach. A second towering figure among the Dano-Norwegian moderates disturbed by the advent of intellectual irreligion was Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764), a Pietist court preacher and university professor in Copenhagen from 1735 to 1748, and later bishop of Bergen (1748–1755). Previously the chaplain to a duke, he wrote an account of parish life on the Island of Als, off Jutland, complaining of the prevalence of superstition, Satanism, and belief in witchcraft among Jutland's villagers. Typically for the European moderate Enlightenment, Pontoppidan saw no reason for any change in the hierarchical social system of his time, even with regard to black slavery. Defending the Royal Danish West India Company, which shipped black slaves from West Africa to the Danish West Indies (St Thomas, St Jan, and St Croix), from which point most of the slaves were then re-exported elsewhere, Pontoppidan proclaimed heathendom a worse scourge than even a debased form of Christianity (like Catholicism). Slavery was justified because it would allow slaves to "get to know God and His kingdom better, thereby becoming liberated in Christ, though servants of men."[46]

By the time Pontoppidan transferred to Norway, his chief complaint concerned the advance of 'atheism' and deism in Copenhagen.[47] La Beaumelle's closest friend among the Dano-Norwegian-Schleswig aristocracy, Woldemar Hermann, count von Schmettau (1719–1785), was one deist who stood out. For him, La Beaumelle procured a stream of books including *La Lettre sur les Aveugles* and other atheistic works of Diderot, which Von Schmettau read avidly late in 1750 and early in 1751.[48] Later, Von Schmettau published several subversive deistic works himself, anonymously, notably his *Auch Fragmente* (discussed below), published in 'Philadelphia' [i.e. Altona] in 1783.[49]

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44 Holberg, *Memoirs*, p. 275.

45 Holberg, *Memoirs*, pp. 255, 257, 266.

46 Grant Parker, *Agony of Asar: A Thesis on Slavery by the Former Slave, Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein, 1717–1747* (Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001), pp. 41, 164.

47 Eric Pontoppidan, *Abhandlung von der Neuigkeit der Welt*, (2 vols., Copenhagen, 1758), I. 13–14; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, p. 176.

48 Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, p. 234.

49 Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, p. 116.

La Beaumelle remained in Copenhagen for some years until falling into utter disfavour with both the court and the University's Lutheran professors. He was obliged to leave Denmark in October 1751,[50] whereupon he stayed briefly, contemplating his future, at the Von Schmettau *Schloss* at Itzehoe, in Holstein. Von Schmettau tried valiantly to get him recalled to Copenhagen, but without success.[51] Moving to Hamburg later in 1751, La Beaumelle, according to the poet Klopstock, spoke 'with contempt' of the Danes, and ill-advisedly criticized and openly disparaged the Danish king and court.[52] Arriving in Potsdam shortly before La Mettrie died of food poisoning on 11 November, La Beaumelle received a letter from Von Schmettau (dated 28 November) that eulogized La Mettrie and urged him to seek the Berlin Academy position La Mettrie had just vacated: "ce poste vous convient et vous convenez au Roi [of Prussia]." It was at this point that the epic quarrel began between La Beaumelle and Voltaire, a clash in which Von Schmettau supported La Beaumelle against the acidic Voltaire: "quel dommage que tant de talents soient le partage d'un pareil monstre."[53] By 1752, Schmettau was alone in encouraging La Beaumelle to persist in his feud with Voltaire.

At mid-century, Sweden appeared to Europe's enlighteners to be ahead of Denmark–Norway. But by the 1760s, enlightened reforms had come on thick and fast in Denmark–Norway, affecting matters administrative, judicial, economic, and penal. As in the rest of Europe, Beccaria's famous treatise on crimes and punishment set off a lively debate about reforming the penal codes.[54] A new general law on murder introduced by Danish crown in 1767 was plainly based on Beccaria. This statute was part of a flurry of other crown initiatives, which in hindsight appeared to be the first of three short but vigorous bouts of legal, institutional, and cultural reform. While Copenhagen University's theologians considered the death penalty both proper and mandatory in all cases of murder (since this penalty was biblically prescribed), key reformers urged the need to adapt penalties to both the nature and social circumstances of crimes.[55] The Danish law of 1767 marked the point in Scandinavian legal history when automatically imposing the death penalty in

50 Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, p. 161.

51 Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, pp. 281–282.

52 Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, pp. 256, 300.

53 "What a pity that someone with so many talents is such a monster." Lauriol, *La Beaumelle*, pp. 266, 280.

54 Holberg, *Memoirs*, pp. 189–190.

55 Ditlev Tamm, 'Beccaria et le climat de réformes dans les pays de Nord', in Michele Porret (ed.), *Beccaria et la Culture Juridique des Lumières* (Geneva, Michalon eds, 1997), pp. 189–190.

murder cases, as stipulated under earlier customary law and then the *Code Danoise* of 1683, formally ended. A Royal Society for Agricultural Science was established in 1769 to promote the scientific and legal improvement of agriculture by encouraging debate among noble landowners and officials, spreading new knowledge, and facilitating consultation at different social levels. This in turn led to an official review of serfdom, accompanied by government proposals for standardizing the forms of peasant subjection, although there were no measures as yet that seriously reduced peasant labour dues or other forms of bonded obligation to noble landowners.[56]

A second bout of reforms, still more important and more radical, followed during the brief but spectacular ascendancy (1770–1771) of Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1772). His most far-reaching reform, rolled back afterwards but not fully reversed by Danish conservatism until 1799, was his introduction by royal proclamation (on 4 September 1770) of unrestricted freedom of the press and free speech throughout Denmark and its dependent territories (Norway, Schleswig-Holstein, Greenland, Iceland, the Faroes, and the Danish Antilles). Having persuaded the Danish monarch Christian VII to agree, Struensee justified his sweeping, revolutionary 1770 proclamation on grounds for which he had been arguing for many years, namely that comprehensive freedom of thought and expression benefited society, promoted the 'common good', and encouraged scholarship and science. The impartial search for truth inevitably suffered under censorship.[57] Denmark–Norway thus became the first country to proclaim unrestricted freedom of the press. This freedom, which extended to matters of religion, morality, and politics, was declared a fundamental principle of an enlightened society—a universal right benefiting humankind collectively and individually.[58]

The royal decision "nach reiflicher Überlegung…in Unsern Reichen und Landen eine uneingeschränkte Freyheit der Presse solchergestalt zu gestatten, dass von nun an Niemand schuldig und verbunden seyn soll, seiner Bücher und Schriften, die er dem Drucke übergeben will, der bishero verordnet gewesenen

56 Thomas Munck, 'The Danish Reformers', in H.M. Scott (ed.), *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke, University of Michigan Press, 1990), pp. 248–250.

57 Stefan Winkle, *Struensee und die Publizistik* (Hamburg, Christians, 1982), pp. 81–7; John Christian Laursen, 'Spinoza in Denmark and the Fall of Struensee, 1770–1772', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61.2 (2000), pp. 190–191, 195; see also John Christian Laursen, 'David Hume and the Danish debate about Freedom of the Press in the 1770s', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1 (1998), pp. 167–172.

58 John Christian Laursen, 'Spinoza in Denmark', pp. 190–191.

Censur zu unterwerfen",[59] a 'cabinet order' dated 4 September 1770, caused an international sensation. Voltaire greeted it with unqualified enthusiasm, penning an *'Epitre à sa majesté le Roi de Danemarc, sur la Liberté de la Presse accordée dans ses États'*, subsequently printed in both French and Danish versions in Copenhagen, including the line: "je me jette a tes pieds, au nom du genre humain."[60] Voltaire communicated his enthusiasm to d'Alembert, in February 1771,[61] but he also entertained certain doubts. He knew that his ally Frederick the Great was displeased and shocked that the more radical *philosophes* were not *royalists.* Frederick was furious at their disrespect towards kings and aristocracy as well as over the abrasive atheism of d'Holbach's *Systeme de la nature* (1770). Voltaire worried that the Danish king had gone too far by permitting an unrestricted freedom of the press. Uneasy and also unaware at the time that the king himself was increasingly unstable and a hitherto unknown physician from Altona was the decree's true author, Voltaire praised the Danish monarch to the skies.[62]

No fewer than twenty-seven new weekly and monthly journals commenced publication in Denmark during the years 1771–1772, under Struensee's press freedom, and for the first time in its history the monarchy seethed in a great mass of printed criticism, debate, and satire.[63] This outpouring included tracts expressing dissatisfaction of many kinds as well as pleas for more new approaches to government and taxation, more religious toleration, and a variety of religious views. But the chief result was an avalanche of publications of a kind Struensee had not anticipated—indignant attacks on himself. These included many openly political pamphlets, seeking to discredit him and his policies. Having only just arrived at the helm, the new chief minister was already deeply unpopular, and every additional reform made him even more so. A collection of the mass of press ephemera that appeared under the Struensee regime was collected at the time by Bolle Willum Luxdorph (1716–1788), *maitre des requêtes* in the Danish Chancellery from 1753 to 1771, and co-signatory of many of the reforming edicts issuing from Struensee's pen. Luxdorph was afterwards also a member of the commission that sentenced

59 Winkle, *Struensee und die Publizistik,* pp. 81–82; Jens Glebe-Møller, *Struensees vej til skafottet: fornunft og åbenbaring i oplysningstiden* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2007), pp. 25–26.

60 Winkle, *Struensee und die Publizistik*, p. 82.

61 Voltaire to d'Alembert, 4 Feb. 1771 in Volaire, Corresp. Xxxvii, p. 244; Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk,* p. 27.

62 Voltaire to d'Alembert, 13 Feb. 1771 in Voltaire, Corresp. Xxxvii, p. 256.

63 Mitchell, 'Age of Enlightenment', pp. 147. For the impact of this 1770 proclamation on the public sphere of print, see also Berge's chapter in the present volume.

Struensee to death.[64] This great flurry of journals and pamphlets published in Denmark between 1770 and 1773, *Luxdorphs Samling af Trykkefrihedens Skrifter*, preserved today in the Danish Royal Library in forty-five volumes, helps us comprehend the political, religious, and cultural objections to Struensee's radical reformism.

The outcry against Struensee centred on allegations of religious and moral collapse in Denmark. Struensee had overstepped the bounds of what was acceptable or respectable to pursue Enlightenment deemed both illicit and irreligious. The outcry against his 'atheistic' outlook inspired numerous printed attacks that were not just vehement, but also violent and scurrilous. By October 1771, Struensee had concluded that freedom of the press needs, after all, to be qualified by legal safeguards for those targeted by savagely hostile writers. Modifications were introduced requiring that either the author or publisher be named on every publication, and that the printer should know who the author was, in case of accusations of libel and slander.[65]

The protests were by no means purely out and out conservative in character. Aside from complaints about the poor quality of much published material since the lifting of the censorship,[66] many pamphleteers welcomed the broad impact 'philosophy' had had on Danish society over the last thirty years. Even if a belief in demons and sightings of the devil were still reported more often among the common people (especially in Jutland and Norway) than almost anywhere else in Europe, Danish churchmen had all but ceased condemning theological dissidents as Socinians and no longer claimed (as they formerly had) that salvation is only possible within the Lutheran Church.[67] The Enlightenment broadly prevailed. The problem was Struensee's radicalism. One pamphlet, the *Alvorlige Betragtninger over den almindelige Tilstand* [Serious Observations on the Common Condition], of 1771, denounced what it regarded as the excessive new freedoms and negative effects of certain kinds of 'philosophy' but nevertheless insisted on its 'enlightened' standpoint. The pamphlet's author warmly endorsed the 'Christian' philosophy of "Grotius, Pufendorf, Leibniz, Wolff, Locke, Newton, Boyle, Boerhaave, Haller, Hoffmann, Sulzer": these thinkers had shown the workings of nature better than the materialists had. But philosophy deferring to religious authority and embracing the 'argument from design' was now menaced in Denmark–Norway. Attacks on 'true

64 J. Ch. Laursen, 'Luxdorph's Press Freedom Writings Before the Fall of Struensee in Early 1770's Denmark–Norway', *The European Legacy: Towards New Paradigms,* 1 (2002), pp. 62–63.

65 Ibid., pp. 90–92; Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk*, p. 6.

66 *Anekdoten eines reisenden Russen*, p. A3.

67 Ibid., p. 69.

religion' had developed under the mask of 'philosophy' and the sciences, fuelled by the ideas of "Tindal, Spinoza, Collins, and Bolingbroke".[68]

It would be an exaggeration to suggest there did not exist any support at all for radical ideas. One tract stressing the impact of 'philosophy', *En Grønlænders Beskrivelse over Kiøbenhavn* [A Greenlander's Description of Copenhagen], was strikingly mild in condemning those in Copenhagen who had "torn themselves from and denied all religion" and who believed that the world has existed as it is since all eternity. These, *En Grønlænders Beskrivelse* explains, take as their hero a Dutch Jew called Spinoza, who in a thick, tedious book of metaphysical Latin tries to "prove all of nature is only one substance and that all Nature's parts are only just so many modifications of it, so that all that one sees in the whole of nature is equally as divine, as royal, as grand, and so that the writer and his pen are equally important, both alike modifications of nature's whole."[69] While purporting to ridicule this strange doctrine, the tract notes that even though Spinozists recognized no sin, nor any punishment for sin, they nevertheless "live better and show more charity than the rest [of society] who pretend to be true to and follow their heaven-sent book [the Bible]," their integrity being "something they have in common with their originator" [i.e. Spinoza].[70]

Many tracts indignantly condemned Struensee, press freedom, and the spread of irreligious intellectual influences. There was talk of the Danes becoming lost in a madhouse of ideas "from which no-one could find the exit".[71] One contribution conjured up a nightmarish vision of the proliferation of publications following 'freedom of the press'. Denmark had become a vast open space crammed with an immense, stinking heap of writings on every imaginable topic—financial writings, 'project writings', and "Machiavellian, Spinozistic writings of which there were many and from which the stench was so dreadful" the author could not bear it.[72] *Ole Smedesvends Begrædelse over Rissengrød* [Ole Smedesvend's Complaint over Rice Porridge] ridiculed the "Dutch Jew reputed to be learned but who wanted people to believe the world had made itself," something as much a lie as if someone tried to make people believe doors could lock themselves. "This fellow", readers learned, "was called

68 *Alvorlige Betragtninger*, p. 16; Laursen, 'Spinoza in Denmark', p. 196.

69 *En Grønlænders Beskrivelse*, (Copenhagen, 1771), p. 5.

70 *En Grønlænders Beskrivelse*, p. 5.

71 *Anekdoten eines reisenden Russen*, p. A3v.

72 *Luxdorphs Samling af Trykkefrihedens Skrifter*, Bolle Willum Luxdorph (ed.) (Copenhagen, 1770–73), 15.6, p. 14.

Spinach or Spinos" and unfortunately was not alone: the "French fool" La Mettrie had similar things to say.[73]

Among the pamphlets representing Struensee as the wrecker of morality and religion was the *Nye Prøve af Skrive-Frihed* which openly styled the chief minister the new 'Haman'.[74] Another pamphlet, *Grønlandske Professors* [...] *Betragtninger over Maanen* [A Greenland professor's...observations about the Moon], charged that Spinoza "negtede al Guddom" [denied all forms of Divinity].[75] These publications addressed a wide audience and underlined the nefarious influence of Spinoza and other irreligious thinkers on public life. Given the context, it is not surprising that Spinoza was mentioned more frequently in the Danish popular press at this point than any other philosopher, more than Voltaire or Rousseau, for example, or Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Diderot, or La Mettrie. In the Denmark–Norway of 1770 even illiterate and ignorant people had heard of, and imbibed a remarkably lurid conception of, Spinoza and his allegedly fatal ideas.

Struensee's commitment to a social theory based on a utilitarian morality underlay his reformism, which (as in Spinoza and Helvétius but not La Mettrie) conceived moral concepts as existing solely in relations between people, as something real 'nur insofern sie für die Gesellschaft Folgen hätten'.[76] Little, aside from his decrees, survives from Struensee's own pen. But Balthasar Münter, the 'enlightened' Lutheran German theologian who highly valued Newton's views on religion and miracles and the works of Boerhaave, Stahl, Haller, and Hoffmann, recorded Struensee's confession that he was 'no Christian' at the time he held power. This interview occurred after the regent's downfall in 1772, when the theologian was assigned to care for Struensee's soul in prison. According to Münter, Struensee had ruled out miracles as altogether impossible and had never believed that "man consists of two substances". Rather, he "considered himself and all men to be pure machines" and believed that after death nothing survives. Struensee had not drawn this hypothesis from La Mettrie, however, "whom he had never read", but had worked it out for himself.[77] Rousseau was cited among Struensee's favourite authors, and he was

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73 Mart. Brun., in *Luxdorphs Samling af Trykkefrihedens Skrifter*, 15.9, p. 7; Laursen, 'Spinoza in Denmark', p. 198.

74 Jørgen Langebek, in *Luxdorphs Samling af Trykkefrihedens Skrifter*, 14.2, p. 14; Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk*, pp. 59, 76.

75 Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk,* p. 199; *Luxdorphs Samling af Trykkefrihedens Skrifter,* 15.21, p. 6.

76 In English: "only insofar as it would have consequences for the society." Glebe-Møller, *Struensees vej,* pp. 74–75.

77 Ibid., p. 57; Balthasar Münter, *Bekehrungsgeschichte des vormaligen Grafen* [...] *Johann Friederich Struensee* (Copenhagen, 1772), p. 10.

familiar with Voltaire, Bonnet, and Reimarus. Another writer who particularly impressed him and contributed to his radical outlook (as he himself pointed out) was Boulanger, whose *Antiquité devoilée* he had studied carefully.[78] It was Helvétius, however, who had the greatest influence on his intellectual development and political outlook.[79] Also, during his stay in Paris in 1768, accompanying the king, Struensee had had the opportunity to converse in depth with several *philosophes*, notably d'Alembert.

Opposition to Struensee's sweeping reformism was grounded in conservative resistance to fundamental change and reinforced by the complaint that Struensee's ideas about society and politics derived from 'atheism', naturalism, materialism, and Spinozism.[80] A German-language, anti-Struensee pamphlet appearing shortly after his downfall denounced him as a 'naturalist born out of Spinoza's school', an atheist and lust-maddened sensualist utterly scorning the true God and thoroughly corrupting the court. Having virtually no power base apart from the favour of a by now half-demented king and a few like-minded courtiers and German immigrants,[81] his authority (and the queen's reputation) rapidly withered. Struensee was a Radical Enlightenment materialist and disciple of Helvétius who was attempting to extend the principles governing his own personal philosophy to the whole of Dano-Norwegian society.[82] Despite royal support, ecclesiastical, noble, and burgher opposition became so intense that after little more than a year his position became untenable. Frederick the Great, increasingly antagonistic to radical ideas after 1770 and especially hostile to Struensee, willingly lent his support to the organizers of the aristocratic *coup* in the Danish capital, in January 1772. Struensee was arrested during a ball together with the queen, at Christianborg Castle, stripped of his offices, and arraigned for high treason. Christian would have saved him had he been able to, but the strong public backlash made this impossible. In March 1772, Frederick wrote to Voltaire suggesting that the latter should be as appalled as he was that the Danish king's physician-chief minister, in league with the queen, had reduced the monarch to such a wretched state: by administering regular doses of opium under the guise of 'medicine' so as utterly to make the king the unwitting tool of their ambition and enabling them to do as they pleased with the kingdom. Frederick expressed satisfaction; but Struensee's overthrow distinctly

78 Münter, *Bekehrungsgeschichte*, pp. 132–133.

79 Ibid.; Asser Amdisen, *Til nytte og fornøjelse. Johann Friedrich Struensee* (Copenhagen, Akademisk, 2002), pp. 48, 67, 154.

80 Laursen, 'Spinoza in Denmark', p. 192.

81 *Luxdorphs Trykkefrihedens skrifter* 14.10 ,'Teutsches Echo', pp. 6–7.

82 Amidsen, *Til nytte og fornøjelse,* p. 177; Glebe-Møller, *Struensees vej,* pp. 30, 72–75.

disturbed Voltaire. “Votre Dannemark”, he wrote to d’Alembert, another partial enthusiast for the Danish reforms, in July 1772, “a fourni une scene qui fait lever les épaules et qui fait frémir.”[83]

Pronounced guilty of treason, irreligion, and immorality, Struensee was sentenced to judicial mutilation prior to execution. On 28 April 1772, he was publicly condemned and executed together with his closest accomplice, Brandt. In public defiance of Beccaria, each was mutilated and had his right hand cut off before being beheaded. Afterwards, their corpses were quartered, in what was then considered the proper penal procedure for the given ‘crimes’.

Scandinavian Enlightened Despotism in the 1770s

Struensee’s overthrow, greeted with a great outburst of popular joy, led to a period of reaction in some areas of Danish society and culture. Many of his reviled reforms were fully revoked in the early 1770s, a key reversal being the edict of 12 August 1773, explicitly cancelling all government supervision of peasant-lord relations.[84] But several reforms were retained *in toto* or in part, and in the long run, after a period of retrenchment, the process of reform resumed in the 1780s, albeit now on a more stable and permanent basis and along more moderate lines. The outcry against Struensee—his person, policies, and views—was couched in appeals to the king that he reject irreligion or even steer Denmark–Norway towards genuinely needed reforms, albeit while adhering to tradition, especially to distinctively Lutheran Danish values. In engineering Struensee’s overthrow, moderate reformers had worked together with the reactionary Counter-Enlightenment, creating a tension that persisted after Struensee’s trial, between traditional royal absolutism allied to Lutheranism and the new enlightened despotism.

The pamphlet *Til Kongen* [To the King] (Copenhagen, 1772) was the most incisive and widely noticed work by Peter Frederik Suhm (1728–1798), a critic, journalist, historian, and book-collector who long remained a central figure of the Danish moderate Enlightenment. An admirer of Holberg, Suhm strove to expand the stock of good Dano-Norwegian books and theatre and to promote the habit of reading among the populace. In 1775, he opened his large private library to the Copenhagen public on a regular basis, convinced a better-read public would help

83 “Your Denmark has produced a scene that makes you shudder and tremble.” Voltaire to d’Alembert, 13 July 1772 in Voltaire, *Corresp*. Xxxviii, 456. For the reception of the Struensee affair in Britain, see Merethe Roos’ chapter in this volume.

84 Munck, ‘Danish Reformers’, p. 250.

strengthen the common good.[85] Residing in Norway in the 1760s, he edited a critical journal at Trondheim that bore the title *Tronhiemske Samlinger* [Trondheim Collections] (1761–5), (see Illustration 1.1). In his pamphlet Suhm denounced Struensee for attacking religion and virtue and also bringing in too many foreigners. He recommended a return to a more traditional type of monarchy that assigned key positions to native Danes and Norwegians rather than foreigners.[86] He also urged the monarch to change his cultural habits; speak Danish; create a court with a more 'national' flavour; and employ responsible, dutiful, and conscientious ministers and administrators. Suhm's forceful intervention was partly absorbed into the conservative, patriotic reaction against unacceptable foreign radicalism; and yet, parts of *Til Kongen*, a text still remembered in Germany in the late 1780s, also engaged in discreet criticisms of monarchy, appealing for constitutionalism. It also advocated preserving Struensee's freedom of the press and in general called upon the Dano-Norwegian monarchy to show more regard for the people's interests and do more to curb ministerial corruption.[87]

After Struensee, the Dano-Norwegian nobility and church recovered much of their previous standing and authority, with the court coming under the control of a group of high aristocratic Lutheran traditionalists surrounding the royal stepmother, Juliane Marie (1729–1796). The chauvinistic reaction against the role of the German and French languages in Danish public life, and against the German and French cultural presence, gained traction. Ove Høegh Guldberg, the presiding figure in Danish political life from Struensee's removal until 1784, was a staunch upholder of aristocratic and ecclesiastical privilege. At the same time, he courted wider popularity by exploiting aspects of the popular reaction against Struensee, especially lending more support to Lutheran religious authority while backing the new xenophobic impulse and feelings of *Danskhed* (Danishness).[88] In 1776, Guldberg produced a new law restricting major state appointments to natives of the kingdom in terms that seemed quite outrageous to much enlightened opinion (including to the Venezuelan *Libertador* Francisco de Miranda, who visited Scandinavia in 1787).[89] Because the kingdom was a multiple monarchy, this law by no means found sympathy with all of the king's subjects.

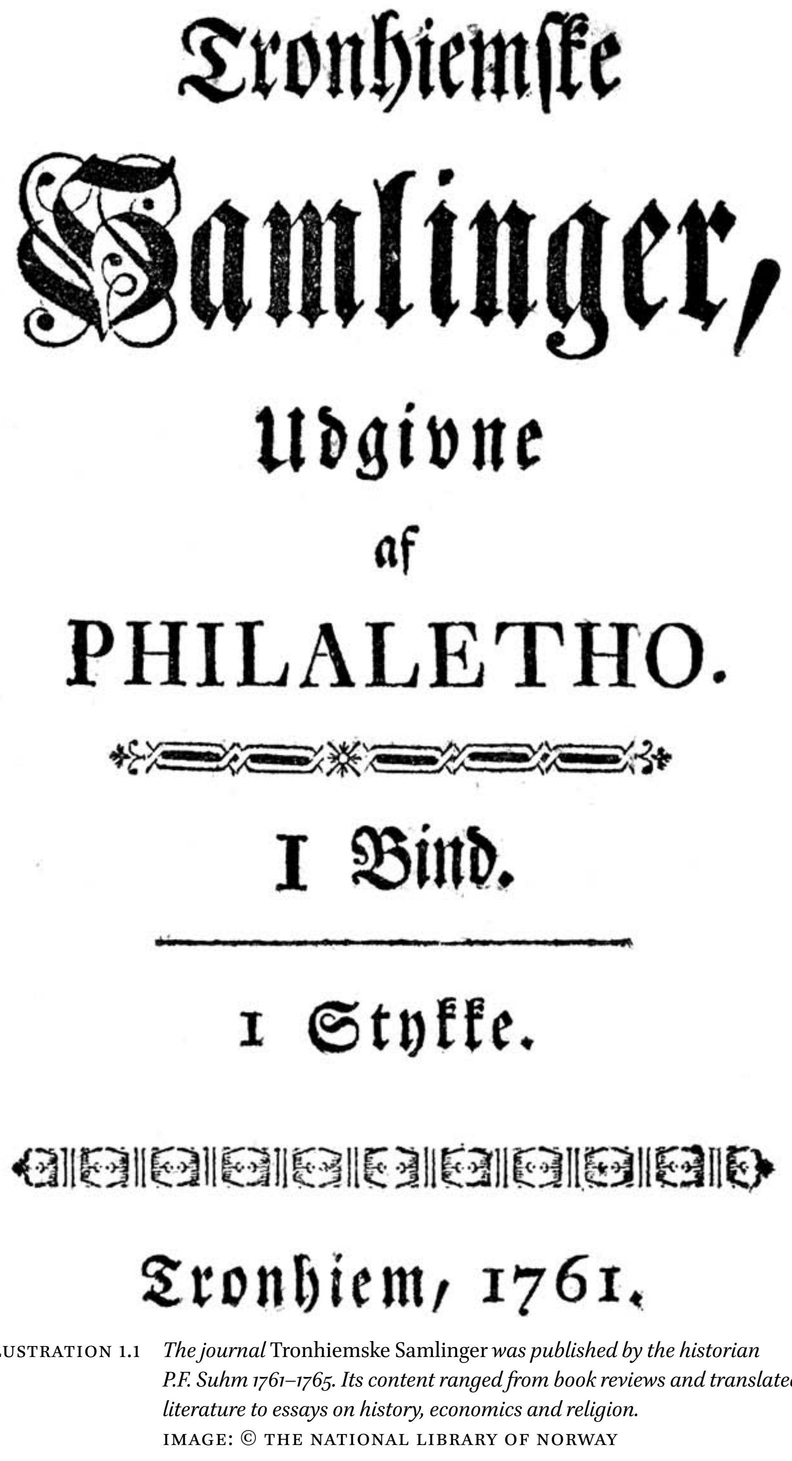
85 Mitchell, 'Age of Enlightenment', p. 152.

86 Mitchell, 'Age of Enlightenment', p. 153.

87 Peter Suhm, *Til Kongen overleverer Suhm et Brev* (Stockholm, 1771), pp. 3, 6; Wilhelm. Ludwig Wekhrlin, *Graue Ungeheuer* VI (1786), p. 113.

88 Munck, 'Danish Reformers', p. 252.

89 H. Arnold Barton, *Northern Arcadia: foreign travelers in Scandinavia 1765–1815* (Carbondale Ill, Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), pp. 8, 39.



Tronhiemske

Samlinger,

Udgivne

af

PHILALETHO.

I Bind.

1 Stykke.

Tronhiem, 1761.

ILLUSTRATION 1.1 *The journal* Tronhiemske Samlinger *was published by the historian P.F. Suhm 1761–1765. Its content ranged from book reviews and translated literature to essays on history, economics and religion.*
IMAGE: © THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NORWAY

After 1772 reaction and retrenchment were the dominant themes for over a decade; this was to some degree true in Sweden–Finland as well. In Sweden, a definite weariness with the rule of the Riksdag, the collective upholding of noble privilege along with the corruption in the administration, helped prepare the ground for the royalist 'revolution' of 1772. Following Gustav III's monarchical-aristocratic *coup d'etat* in Stockholm, in August 1772—an event following hard on the heels of Struensee's overthrow—the whole of Scandinavia apparently conformed once more to the familiar European monarchical, ecclesiastical, and courtly aristocratic model. The exceptional degree of press freedom in Scandinavia, after briefly prevailing, now diminished significantly in both kingdoms. Output of books and periodicals declined noticeably in both cases.[90] Admittedly, the new ruling elite in Denmark were a mix of moderate reformers and reactionaries, while Gustav had long been an admirer of enlightened despotism and a professed disciple of Voltaire.[91]

Aided by key army officers and beginning with the rising of contingents of the garrison at Helsinki's Sveaborg, the largest and costliest eighteenth-century fortress in Europe, Gustav swiftly established his absolute control of both Finland and Sweden. He then suspended the Swedish Age of Liberty constitution so admired by some Enlightenment writers, and restored unrestricted monarchy. He did so with the firm backing of much of the Swedish population—besides that of Voltaire and d'Alembert, who were determined to prove to Europe's kings that they were emphatic royalists. Veneration for monarchy ran deep, and news of the coup was greeted with rapture not only among the common people but also from much of the nobility and even the professorate, including Linnaeus.[92] It is important to realize that the restoration of full princely control and court aristocracy, as in Holland in 1747–1748, was greeted with joy by most people. Voltaire dubbed Gustav's coup 'la belle revolution de Suède' and congratulated all concerned on the 'prudence' and 'firmness' with which Gustav had seized the reins of power, adding enthusiastically that the event "donne envie de vivre".[93]

Gustav III was sincere in his intention to be a true 'enlightened despot'. Among his first measures was a law emulating the Danish statute abolishing judicial torture in Sweden–Finland. With a nod to the French *économistes,* he lowered import duties and freed the grain trade from most restrictions. In fact,

90 Arne Jarrick, *Back to Modern Reason: Johan Hjerpe and other petit bourgeois in Stockholm in the Age of Enlightenment* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1998), p. 90.

91 Roberts, *The Age of Liberty*, p. 183.

92 Koerner, *Linnaeus,* 31.

93 Voltaire to Frederick, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, 15 Sept, 1772 in Voltaire, *Corresp.* Xxxix, p. 63.

many (though by no means all) of the projected reforms that had been part of the failed reform proposals of 1769 were implemented in the early years of the new king's reign.[94] But what Gustav's reforms omitted was possibly even more significant than what they included. "It was not only political liberty", remarks one historian, "that fell a victim" to Gustav III's *coup d'etat*, so did all prospect of opposing noble dominance in society and ending serfdom.[95] In fact, a fundamental contradiction infused the monarchical restoration in Sweden in 1772: for while Gustav's *coup* was supported by a people weary of a constitution bolstering aristocratic domination of society and control of its institutions, the restoration of full monarchy was equally enthusiastically supported by most nobles. These nobles expected, with discerning, well-judged realism, the revived monarchy to end their internal splits, further expand the armed forces, and generally reinforce noble domination of society and culture.[96]

Briefly, ostentatious display and intensive cultivation of the arts did much to paper over such cracks. Gustav energetically encouraged scientific research, penal reform, economic innovations, and the establishment of new literary and scholarly institutions, most notably the *Svenska Academien* (the Swedish Academy of Belles-Lettres, established in 1786). (The latter proved to be chiefly a device for furthering the sway of French literature and fashion in Sweden–Finland.) As shown in Chapter 13 in this volume, Gustav had a deep infatuation with opera and helped it to flourish. For these measures and others like them, Gustav received approbation and applause. Until the late 1770s Sweden ranked very high as an 'enlightened despotism' on what the German radical journalist Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrlin (1739–1792) called the 'philosophical map of Europe'. In state-supported science and research institutes as well as industrial projects it rated higher than Denmark–Norway.[97] However, if Gustav was an ardent patron of science, the arts, and architecture, he did little to expand education and literacy or reverse the universities' decline. Uppsala in the 1770s and 1780s witnessed stagnant student numbers and declining international prestige, much to the disappointment of foreign visitors who venerated Linnaeus and expected to find at Uppsala an impressive memorial to his legacy.[98]

94 Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, p. 207.

95 Roberts, *Age of Liberty*, p. 207.

96 D.G. Kirby, *Northern Europe in the early modern period: the Baltic world, 1492–1772* (London/New York, Routledge, 1990), p. 385.

97 Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrlin, *Chronologen: Ein periodisches Werk*, (Frankfurt/Leipzig/Nürnberg, 1779), I. 9. See also chapter 6 in this volume for how gustavian politics was pictured in two important Göttingen journals.

98 Barton, *Northern Arcadia,* pp. 36–37.

The great difference between Danish and Swedish developments in the last three decades of the eighteenth century is that Denmark passed from a reactionary phase in the 1770s to a far more progressive one, especially from the mid-1780s, while the Swedish pattern was the exact reverse. From the mid-1780s Gustav became increasingly despotic, militaristic, and reactionary. His relentless pursuit of personal glory further strengthened the negative impact his rule had from the very outset on press freedom in Sweden, book output, and (presumably) also reading. Book production fell from 864 titles in 1772 to only 378 in 1773, with the decline continuing uninterruptedly in subsequent years, to 264 titles by 1777.[99] The revised Swedish press law of 26 April 1774, claimed to continue the basic principle of press freedom as a socially useful institution; in theory, a residual freedom of expression remained (as in Denmark–Norway), but the reality was different, especially in the late 1780s, when additional restrictions were imposed. This development provoked opposition, most famously from one of the country's leading literary personalities, Thomas Thorild (1759–1808). Thorild passionately denounced restrictions on freedom of thought and the press which, from 1790, included also a complete ban on publishing reports of the French Revolution. He called them a major abuse of authority.[100]

After 1772, press restrictions remained stricter in Sweden than in Denmark. Consequently, Copenhagen emerged as a key cultural link between Denmark–Norway and Sweden–Finland. It was the headquarters of a group that opposed the restored Swedish monarchy and reduced freedoms. Several of its members, including Thorild, developed unmistakably radical credentials. For a time, Copenhagen was the Scandinavian centre of both critical thinking about non-Danish affairs and political opposition. During the 1780s and the French Revolution, Denmark–Norway also became the main source of published German translations of radical literature, such as Tom Paine's *The Rights of Man*, that could not be published in Germany itself at that time. As a result, much of Europe celebrated Denmark as an invaluable and outstanding haven of 'press freedom'.[101] Thorild's pamphlet denouncing the Swedish royal press restrictions could not be published in Swedish but did appear at Copenhagen, in Danish, in 1793.[102]

In this more restricted cultural context, the stage became in a subtle fashion a key additional arena of Enlightenment debate. The late eighteenth century was a sort of golden age for the Danish stage, a time in which dozens of plays by

99 Barton, *Northern Arcadia*, p. 91.

100 Thomas Thorild, *Om den almindelige forstands frihed: Til kongen og folket* (Copenhagen, 1793), p. 56.

101 Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrlin, *Hyperboreische Briefe* (Nürnberg, 1788–1790), I. 301, 303.

102 Thorild, *Om den almindelige forstands frihed*, title-page.

famous authors were translated from German, French, Italian, and English and published and performed in Danish.[103] But some of the material proved controversial—and none more so than Lessing's dramas, which soon acquired an unrivalled status among the public not just as plays but as a prophetic voice of special appeal to aspiring social critics and reformers. Lessing achieved his breakthrough on the Scandinavian stage in the early 1770s. In 1775, his *Emilia Galotti* was performed no less than fifty-four times in Denmark, including five times at the Copenhagen court theatre.[104] However, with the appearance of the Reimarus *Fragmente* in the later 1770s, Lessing's Danish reputation came to be a fiercely contested and divisive matter. Almost the entire clergy denounced him as a foe of Christianity,[105] led by the 'Danish Goeze', the theologian H. Chr. Schønheyder, who did not shrink from mobilizing political contacts at court (in Copenhagen) to try to have Lessing dismissed from his position at Wolfenbüttel. In Scandinavia, there was an emphatic tendency to equate the contents of the Reimarus's fiercely anti-Christian *Fragmente* with Lessing's own views, which in turn generated a strong back-lash against him.[106] Lessing's polemical writings against Goeze and other theological opponents, already banned in several German states, were promptly banned in Denmark–Norway as well. This development was one reason why Denmark–Norway fared rather badly compared with Sweden–Finland on Wekhrlin's 'philosophical map of Europe' of 1779.[107] The resentment against Lessing also fuelled a public controversy surrounding *Nathan der Weise*, a play easily construed as an extension of Lessing's theological-polemical writings. *Nathan,* too, came under a general ban in Scandinavia. Knud Lyne Rahbek (1760–1830), the editor of the pre-eminent Danish periodical of the later 1780s and 1790s *Minerva,* and a well-known republican-leaning literary figure, began to translate *Nathan der Weise* into Danish in the early 1780s but abandoned the project upon realizing the impossibility of its being staged; the first performance of the play's Danish version took place only in 1799.[108]

Twenty years earlier, in 1779, Schønheyder urged the Danish Literary Society, *Det danske Litteraturselskab*, to offer a prize for the best refutation of the

103 Mitchell, 'Age of Enlightenment', p. 165.

104 Mitchell, 'Age of Enlightenment', pp. 161–2; Klaus Bohnen, 'Lessing und Dänemark', in W. Baarner and M. Reh (eds.), *Nation und Gelehrtenrepublik: Lessing im europäischen Zusammenhan, Sonderband, Lessing Yearbook* (Munich, 1984), p. 306.

105 Bohnen, 'Lessing und Dänemark', pp. 305–14, here p. 308.

106 Bohnen, 'Lessing und Dänemark', p. 30.9.

107 Wekhrlin, *Chronologen*, p. 8; Bohnen, 'Lessing und Dänemark', p. 309.

108 Bohnen, 'Lessing und Dänemark', p. 307.

Parable of the Three Rings, a theme from *Nathan der Weise* that continued to draw widespread Dano-Norwegian as well as Swedish–Finnish condemnation. The public reaction was one of such intolerance that it ensured recruits to Lessing's radical conception of religious toleration, especially among some students and professors. The result was even more victims of repression. However, if the controversy surrounding Lessing and the status of his work reflected post-1771 Scandinavian reaction, it also reinforced the tendency towards polarization in society and exposed a rift that continued off and on until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The growing political and intellectual repression in Scandinavia of the later eighteenth century, in full swing in Sweden by 1788, was hence not a reaction to the French Revolution as such, though it did intensify further after 1790. It resulted, rather, from the progress of a much more tentative and subtle political and cultural challenge. In both monarchies a court-sponsored version of the Enlightenment recovered a publicly uncontested predominance over public life, the cultural scene, science, and higher education. Nevertheless, the underlying challenge remained, indeed continued to grow and penetrate barely below the surface, as the various literary-philosophical controversies and quarrels over foreign influence demonstrate.

CHAPTER 2

For the Laity, as Well as for the Learned: Some Themes and Structures in the System of Early Modern Learned Periodicals

Ingemar Oscarsson

The history of the learned press is generally recognized as having begun in the year 1665, when the reading public saw the almost simultaneous emergence of two journals, the *Journal des Savants* in Paris and the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London. These two journals also mark the two fundamental types or categories of learned periodicals, with *Journal des Savants* as the first 'derivative' (or reviewing) journal and *Philosophical Transactions* standing out as the prime 'substantive' (or original-transferring) one. Throughout many stages of the history of the learned press, with the gradual elimination of periodicals in Latin and the successive change from 'universal' (or all-subject) journals to more and more specialized ones, this essential dichotomy endured, despite the fact that many journals had elements of both kinds of publication (as was, in fact, the case with both *Journal des Savants* and *Philosophical Transactions*).

In the *respublica literaria* itself, the rise of learned periodicals (first and foremost of substantive journals) had a profound impact upon working conditions for scholars. In these journals new ideas and findings could travel faster and farther than before, creating an acute awareness of scholarship as an ongoing process of discovery and analysis. From now on, scholars were confronted with the need to stay abreast of developments in various fields of learning while also keeping up with and participating in the debates and polemics that were becoming an important feature of the substantive journals. In these, it was relatively rare for authors to appear anonymously (in contrast to the usage in several other branches of periodical literature), which made contributions and exchanges public and transparent to an unprecedented degree and established journals as a part of the historical record of science. Parallel to this development in the substantive journals, an increasing number of derivative periodicals was contributing to gradual changes in the audience for scholarly works, busily reviewing, abstracting, summarizing, and popularizing the products of the learned world that were appearing in books and substantive periodicals. The dissemination of new knowledge and theories was reaching not only scholars but also what can be called the laity, a curious and reasonably educated,

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but essentially non-scholarly audience. But this development was by no means uncontroversial; on the contrary, it met with various forms of rejecting and critical attitudes, as already the founder of *Journal des Savants*, Denis de Sallo, could certainly testify. One aspect of this criticism on which I want to focus is the view that reviewing or derivative periodicals were an inferior and unnecessary by-product—even a degenerate outgrowth—of true erudition and scholarship. Those who shared this perception often used rhetoric that presented these journals in a negative light or exaggerated their number and influence, implying that they far outnumbered but were certainly inferior to the 'truly learned', substantive journals.

Whether there was any measure of truth to such assessments is an issue that cannot be settled here, and in fact, any attempt to evaluate them or even quantify the number of review journals would run up against the lack of satisfactory bibliographical resources. But I will touch briefly on the matter in the next pages, giving some historical examples and rounding off with the help of a micro-corpus of publications, namely the Swedish stock of eighteenth-century learned journals. This fairly contained yet impressively manifold set of periodicals supplies, to begin with, an example of quantitative relationships between different types of publications in a setting that is clearly defined, both chronologically and culturally. Secondly, these periodicals illustrate how, within this setting, diverse editorial and commercial interests stood beside and against each other, sometimes paradoxically intertwined and contradictory. Thus the epoch's most prolific free-market publisher in Sweden, Carl Christoffer Gjörwell (1731–1811), seems to inadvertently reinforce the critics' arguments against the derivative press when he launches his monthly *Den Swenska Mercurius,* in 1755. Here Gjörwell praises the variety of content found in the review periodicals but also (despite being himself a book-seller and book-publisher as well as a journalist) lowers his guard against a typical criticism, stressing that the lengthy book reviews in the journals 'make it often possible to renounce the book itself'.[1]

The Formula of Denis de Sallo

Already in the very first issue of *Journal des Savants*, the editor Denis de Sallo articulated the characteristic formula of the review journal. It is notable how he directly takes his reader into an already existing literary and scientific arena,

1 C.C. Gjörwell, 'Kungjörelse om en Lärd- och Stats-Journal' [Announcement about a Learned and Political Journal] etc., *Den Swenska Mercurius* (20 Sept. 1755).

where, he maintains, there should be room for a new kind of enterprise, a reviewing periodical. Its potential readers would consist of both those who regularly bought books and wanted information about what was available, and those who could not afford to purchase books, or bought them only seldom, but who nevertheless strove to keep abreast of developments in the republic of letters.[2]

De Sallo set out to define not only his potential readership but also the nature of the new medium. As a weekly publication, it would be characterized by a high degree of topicality because, as he put it, 'things become dated if we don't talk about them more often than once a year or once a month.'[3] On this point, he even presents the results of a market analysis, having consulted several *personnes de qualité* who had indicated that they would prefer to see the journal appear frequently. A weekly periodical could provide fresh, concise content as a way of attracting readers who were not overly fond of tackling heavy volumes.

And moreover: according to de Sallo the new medium would not only inform readers about new books, but also directly or indirectly assess the value of those books and create a space for the exchange of views. Thus readers should not be astonished to encounter disparate opinions and views that differed from their own (*des opinions différentes des siennes*).

A 'Convenient and Agreeable' Medium

De Sallo's formula was destined to be echoed by many later editors. One of its most eloquent spokesmen was Pierre Bayle, who in the introduction to his *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* in 1684[4] gave tribute to de Sallo as a pioneer of the medium. In his remarks, Bayle notes that several countries now recognize how 'convenient and agreeable' it is to keep the public informed by way of a periodical (*par une espèce de Journal*) and how the press has gradually increased its coverage of different branches of scholarship. Bayle also comments on a discussion (or at least one alleged to have taken place) about the need for more journals. Despite the doubts of some, he advocates an increase in the number of review journals to cover the many noteworthy books that are

2 [D. de Sallo], *L'Imprimeur au Lecteur*, separate preface, *Journal des Savants*, 1 (5 Jan. 1665). It is notable that this double ambition of de Sallo's is accentuated in one of the earliest general surveys of the periodical literature, Jean Frédéric Bernard, *Histoire critique des journaux,* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1734), I. 18–19.

3 '…les choses vielliroient trop, si on differoit d'en parler pendant l'espace d'un an ou d'un mois'.

4 [P. Bayle], 'Preface', *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* (March 1684), pp. 6–10.

published without being reviewed, or that are not reviewed while they are still new. He therefore argues for the importance of a space in which writers and publishers can make their contributions, from various locations and in various languages.

Bayle also refutes those who oppose the practice of reviewing the same books several times, in different journals and in different versions. The public would find it far more unnecessary and tiresome, he argues, if they were denied access to the views of different commentators and only encountered the same comments repeated everywhere. A true journalist as well as a distinguished scholar, Bayle backs up his argument with a comparison between following the reviews in periodicals and keeping abreast of the news through newspapers. We all know, he points out, how eager people are to pick up information from various gazettes that complement each other, and the same applies to the public interest in scholarly publications.

A Real *Critique*, an Act of 'Folly'

Needless to say, not everyone shared the views of Bayle and others like him. The development of learned periodicals also met with reactions like those of the great moralist Jean de La Bruyère, who in 1689, in one of his famous *Caractères,* declared that the only duty of the *nouvelliste* was to impartially inform readers about new books and to convey information such as the books' titles, how they were printed, and where they were sold. Trying to deliver real *critiques* of these books would be nothing less than 'an act of folly' (*une folie*).[5]

La Bruyère had several equally critical followers in years to come. In Scandinavia by the mid-eighteenth century, his attitude towards review journals was a reference point for both Ludvig Holberg, in one of his *Epistler*, and the Swedish linguist and classicist Abraham Sahlstedt. Neither of them called for the demise of the journals, but Holberg, nevertheless, found La Bruyère's words justified in most respects and complained that too many journalists wrote in haste, knew too little about the subjects they were judging, and often had ties to the publishers.[6] Sahlstedt, in a rather interesting essay titled 'Om Lärdoms Tidningar' ['On Learned Journals'], was not prone to agree with scholars who arrogantly despised all knowledge except their own, including that of

5 J. de La Bruyère, 'Des ouvrages de l'esprit', in A. Cattiers (éd.), *Ouevres de La Bruyère* (Tours, 1886), p. 86.

6 L. Holberg, 'Epistola CDXIII', in F.J. Billeskov Jansen (ed.), *Epistler* (8 vols., Copenhagen, 1944–1954), IV. 296–298.

the contemptible 'journalists'. But the problem was 'the half-learned and the ignorant', who could not themselves judge what they were reading and who admired everything they found in the journals. Sahlstedt did acknowledge the usefulness of the 'learned diaries' in providing an overview of literary output as a whole, but in the end he explicitly made common cause with La Bruyère: the 'journalist' should restrict himself to faithfully and objectively noting the purpose and the contents of a given book, with some examples of the work's style and a short description of its outer appearance.[7]

Original Publishing in the Vernacular and in Latin

Just as Denis de Sallo identified the 'right' kind of readers in *Journal des Savants,* so Henry Oldenburg in *Philosophical Transactions* (March 1665) sorted out the kind of readers that *he* envisaged; namely, those who not only '[found] delight in the advancement of Learning and profitable Discoveries', but also used the press to discover 'new things' and 'impart their knowledge to one another'.[8] Modestly enough, Oldenburg characterized the contents of the *Transactions* as merely 'the Gleanings of my private diversions in broken hours'. As a result, his journal has been called (in its initial stages, at least) an interactive medium and a mere 'upgrade of epistolary communication': a form crystallized, so to speak, out of the erudite letter, the private or semi-private correspondence of scholars.[9]

It goes without saying, however, that there were from the start determining ontological and paratextual implications, as the journal agreed with its audience to appear on regular dates, under a fixed title, with headlines signalling the themes of the 'letters', and with a more or less strongly present 'editorial voice'.[10] And in *Philosophical Transactions* as well as in other journals, the editors skilfully developed techniques for transforming letters into articles,

7 A. Sahlstedt, 'Om Lärdoms Tidningar' ['On Learned Journals'], *Critiska samlingar,* 4 (Stockholm, 1765; text from 1759), pp. 518–529.

8 [H. Oldenburg], 'The Introduction', *Philosophical Transactions* (6 March 1665), pp. 1–2.

9 Iordan Avramov, 'Henry Oldenburg and the early years of *Philosophical Transactions*, 1665–1667', *Scientific Periodicals in Modern Europe. Exploratory Workshop. Final Report* (Wolfenbüttel, June 1–4, 2005). The connection between the periodical and the 'communal correspondence' of the learned is underlined also in Maurizio Gotti, 'Disseminating Early Modern Science: Specialized News Discourse in the *Philosophical Transactions*', in N. Brownlees (ed.), *News Discourse in Early Modern Britain*: Selected Papers of CHINED 2004 (Bern, 2006), pp. 41–70.

10 Ellen Valle, 'Reporting the Doings of the Curious: Authors and Editors in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London', in Brownlees (ed.), *News Discourse*, p. 75.

de-individualizing them, and turning them into arguments whose rhetoric was calculated to appeal to a general public.[11]

The fact that the *Philosophical Transactions* are in English rather than Latin (with the exception of a few entries) was in its way much more unconventional than the emergence of review journals in different vernaculars. Emancipating the dissemination of knowledge from the traditional use of Latin undoubtedly had profound consequences for the evolution of science and scholarship in general. However, rather than delve into this immense subject, we will have to limit ourselves to the observation that the transition had an immediate impact upon the language itself, triggering efforts to develop a vernacular terminology that could be, in the best of worlds, an adequate instrument for scholars as well as a means of communication to a larger audience.[12]

This move to English was no small step to take, however, and in its role as a genuine periodical published in the vernacular, the *Philosophical Transactions* had few immediate followers (if, indeed, any at all). In the next few decades, a number of original-transferring periodicals in Latin were founded, with the Leipzig *Acta Eruditorum* (from 1682) providing the most prominent example. The *Acta Eruditorum* was also the first important hybrid: it contained both original papers and book reviews. (According to the calculations of a scrupulous researcher, in its first decade the journal managed to publish more book reviews than even *Journal des Savants* during the same period.)[13] A Latin hybrid was also the first major Swedish enterprise in the realm of review periodicals: *Acta literaria Sueciae*, published as a quarterly during the 1720s and later as a yearbook for the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala.[14]

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11 Also the review journals now and then included 'letters' from external contributors, mostly in their short 'Learned News' sections, but to some extent also in the main articles.—Typical examples of how one can trace 'une forme propre à la lettre devenue article' in the early *Journal des Savants* appear in Jean-Pierre Vittu, 'Le travail scientifique dans les correspondences entre savants au tournant des 17e et 18e siècles', *Colloque international 10–13 juin 1992,* CNRS (Paris, 1992), p. 10–11.

12 See, e.g. Gotti, 'Disseminating Early Modern Science', p. 41–42.

13 David A. Kronick, *A History of Scientific & Technical Periodicals,* 2nd ed. (Metuchen N.J., 1976), p. 79, after E.B. Barnes, *The International Exchange of Knowledge in Western Europe, 1680–1689* (Chicago, unpubl. diss., 1947).

14 *Acta literaria Sueciae* met with interest abroad, and in Denmark, where the first literary review, *Nye Tidender om lærde Sager,* also began in 1720, one might wonder whether the Swedish journal was behind the switch, in 1721, to Latin in the Danish weekly *Nova literaria.* In any case it was soon re-established in Danish.

To be sure, various academic publications in the vernacular also appeared at this time, starting already in 1676 with the *Saggi di naturali esperienze* of the Florence Accademia del Cimento. But they were qualitatively different from the monthly and quarterly journals: published in book form (as was the *Saggi*), at longer intervals than the journals, and/or appearing retrospectively, 'extracted from the registers' of the academies like the *mémoires* or *histoires* of the famous French academies, they resembled books more than periodical literature.[15]

One of the first 'proper' journals publishing originals in the vernacular was a Swedish one, the Uppsala *Daedalus Hyperboreus*, a publication for both theoretical and applied physics and engineering, published in 1716–1718 by Emanuel Swedberg (who later achieved fame under the name Swedenborg). His announcement for the journal clearly indicates the genetic connection between the erudite letter and the learned journal: it was essentially 'the fruit of the correspondence between a few Learned Men and Lovers of the Mathematical Sciences in Uppsala, and our Swedish Archimedes', namely the inventor and physicist Christopher Polhem.[16] Polhem himself had ingeniously suggested the periodical as a format for publishing his works that would prove more attractive to the public than a large volume.[17]

Sarcasm from an *Encyclopédiste*

In 1765, exactly one hundred years after the start of the two first learned periodicals, the Diderot-d'Alembert *Encyclopédie* had reached its eighth volume, in which the word *Journal* appeared. The anonymous author of this entry describes, rather sarcastically, the 'mass' of journals (*une foule de journaux*) flourishing in his time for the satisfaction of those who were either too busy or too lazy to read books. Journals gave readers the opportunity to become erudite at a low cost and allowed many unproductive talents to profit from the books of others rather than be forced to write 'a good line' (*une bonne ligne*) themselves.[18]

15 *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* and *Académie royale des sciences*.

16 Emanuel Swedberg, 'Benägne Läsare' ['Benevolent Reader'], preface to *Daedalus Hyperboreus* (23 Oct. 1715).

17 The main language in *Daedalus* was Swedish, but Swedberg/Swedenborg, standing with one foot in traditional scholarly culture, had some of the entries printed in parallel Latin and Swedish texts.

18 Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (1765), VIII. 896–897. The article was probably conceived in the 1750s. It is possible that the author was Diderot, who in any case wrote the

Thus the writer cannot resist adding a retrospective sneer in the direction of the review journal's pioneer, de Sallo, but on the whole his article offers a very competent survey of learned periodicals since their inception. In fact, it would be possible to take large parts of the text and print them in any encyclopaedia of today with few changes. The writer gives an impressive overview of journals throughout Europe, naming fifty periodicals and providing reliable information (with only one or two exceptions). But even more interesting is his systematic approach to the topic, which confirms the built-in dichotomy between, on the one hand, the review journals (the *journaux*), and on the other hand those periodicals that are designed for original contributions. Many of the latter kind, he observes, are respectable publications from academies or learned societies, like the *Philosophical Transactions.* As for the reviewing journals, his disdain for them is clear from his critical remarks and his emphasis on the sheer number of them flooding the market. In this respect, he makes common cause with several others, who adopt a classicist or generally highbrow perspective and therefore regard the reviews as essentially parasitic publications that were insinuating themselves among works of original scholarship and erudition.[19]

Some Bibliographic Attempts, and Their Deficiencies

To what extent were these charges against review journals justified? Perhaps trying to define, categorize, and count the publications comprising the early modern learned press only satisfies an interest in purely academic questions, but the emergence of these periodicals can also undeniably tell us much about the social role and impact of scholarship during the period. For that reason alone it should be of interest to take at least a rough inventory of the stock of journals, with reference to their contents and functions.

But this stock is, as we know, very extensive and difficult to evaluate as a whole, if only because it is not fully accessible using existing bibliographic

subsequent entry, *Journaliste*, which is also rather critical and includes a long list of the qualities that any 'journalist' should have.

19 There is, in general, no such attitude towards the periodicals in J.F. Bernard's abovementioned *Histoire critique des journaux* (1734), which is primarily a history, and a rather thorough one, of *Journal des Savants*. In the Diderot–d'Alembert *Encyclopédie*, however, the image of the press in general is, for many reasons, a mostly negative one, and there are several other examples of similar views. On this, see, e.g. P. Benhamou, 'La presse dans L'Encyclopédie', in G. Volz (éd.), *Individu et autorités: Positions de la presse des lumières* (Nantes, Univ. de Nantes, 2004), pp. 119–127.

sources. Even with the notable cataloguing efforts of scholars like David A. Kronick, Robert M. Gascoigne, and Joachim Kirchner (for German-language sources) and Jean Sgard et al. (for periodicals in French), none of this work lends itself to gathering comprehensive statistical information.[20] As for Kronick and Gascoigne, they must be credited with having at least attempted a universal (i.e. all-European) overview. But both their systematic delimitations and their (in my view) excessively far-reaching definition of 'periodical' make their efforts inadequate as a foundation for a full understanding of the scope and composition of early periodical literature. Naturally, all of this has an influence also on the issue here most in question: the relative place and importance of the review journals.

Gascoigne's *Historical Catalogue of Scientific Periodicals, 1665–1900* (1985) is devoted almost exclusively to periodicals that publish original material, whereas the review journals attract little attention in either his catalogue or in the affiliated analyses and surveys. Kronick, in his well-known *History of Scientific & Technical Periodicals: The Origins and Development of the Scientific and Technical Press 1665–1790* (1962; 1976), produces a few useful distinctions and terms for different categories of periodicals, distinguishing between 'substantives' (the original-publishing ones), and 'derivatives' (second-hand publications), with the latter including subgroups like reviews, 'abstracts', and 'collections'.[21] But Kronick's overviews are selective, and his picture of the number of different types of journals is out of proportion because he also accepts titles that were published at very long intervals, sometimes with several years in between (albeit 'regularly').[22] In his summary table of 1,052 scientific periodicals for the period 1665–1790 (i.e. 'periodicals' according to his own wide definitions), Kronick lists no more than forty review journals, a chosen

20 Joachim Kirchner, *Bibliographie der Zeitschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes bis 1900* (6 vols., Stuttgart, 1966–1969), I.; Jean Sgard et al., *Dictionnaire des journaux* 1600–1789 (Paris, Universitas, 1991).

21 By 'abstract journal' Kronick means a medium for abridged versions of contributions which have been printed elsewhere. A 'collection' is a sort of repository for texts in full compiled from various sources (Kronick, *A History of Scientific & Technical Periodicals*, pp. 177, 202).

22 Which is, I think, a way of diluting the concept of a periodical and of juxtaposing categories that are fundamentally different. To be considered a periodical in a proper sense, the publication in question should appear more than once a year (i.e. normally at least quarterly). In effect, this makes periodicals publications with a notably high degree of topicality, including fast reciprocity and up-to-dateness in debates, visible paratextual consequences (e.g. in the naming of publications), and an implied contract with its reading public.

group that he has 'segregated for consideration' because they printed reviews of both monographs and other journals.[23]

In Kronick's subsequent work, the voluminous (and in some respects unquestionably useful) catalogue *A Guide to the Scientific and Technical Periodicals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1991), where the researcher explicitly classifies each item, the number of periodicals labelled as 'reviews' stops at about 130 out of no fewer than 1,858 publications. No doubt the figure 130 comes much closer to what one can, more or less intuitively, regard as the 'real' or actual number of review journals in the given period, but also in this work the 'review' category comprises only a (not very clearly delimited) selection of titles. Moreover, the overall figure of 1,858 is a highly questionable one, since it rests to a great extent on Kronick's liberal definition of 'periodical' but also omits or overlooks several publications that should reasonably have been included.

A Corpus of Its Own: Swedish Eighteenth-Century Periodicals

As already mentioned, the Swedish stock of eighteenth-century learned journals is a not very extensive corpus, but its multifaceted nature brings into focus some of the key quantitative, editorial, and commercial issues concerning the periodical press of that period. The total number of periodical publications of all categories in Sweden during the eighteenth century approached 350, out of which a considerable number belong to what can be called the learned sphere. In distinguishing this group for my purposes here, I have simply excluded the following types of periodicals: overtly political publications, those that convey only general information and cannot be classified as 'learned', publications intended for moral or religious edification or for entertainment, and those that are satirical in nature. After eliminating periodicals from these categories, I assigned the remaining group of around seventy eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century journals to the scholarly or scientific category.

To establish an internal system of classification within this 'learned' group, I have used Kronick's distinction between original and derivative journals, slightly adjusting it by using three subcategories ('substantives', reviews, and abstracts/collections). Obviously, the dividing lines between these different subgroups are not always very sharp, but with this reservation in mind I find it appropriate to characterize close to twenty-five periodicals as primarily substantives, a dozen or so as mainly reviewing journals, and about thirty-five as

23 Kronick, *A History of Scientific & Technical Periodicals*, pp. 78, 187.

abstracts and/or collections, the contents of which are either reprints from various sources or other sorts of documents.[24]

The twenty-odd periodicals in the 'substantives' category belonged mainly to areas other than the humanities. Most of them were founded after 1760 and, on the whole, verify the general European tendency towards increasing specialization and diversification during the century. The fields represented include agriculture, the economy, medicine, mining, and mineralogy. The most prominent journal, however, and a veritable flagship of the group, was the *Handlingar* or *Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences*, begun in 1739 with the foundation of the Academy and published as a quarterly, covering a wide scope of natural sciences.

Most of the reviewing journals, beginning with *Acta literaria Sueciae* in 1720, had a broad range of interests—history, philosophy, and *belles-lettres* as well as the economy, medicine, and various branches of natural history. The larger category of collections and abstracts was, on the other hand, dominated by history, biography, and the like, to a great extent because of the above-mentioned Gjörwell, who was among other things an indefatigable editor of historical documents. But there were also in this group some journals that mainly consisted of abstracts, a few of which even concentrated on the natural sciences, like the short-lived but interesting monthly *Samling af Rön och Uptäkter* (*Collection of Experiences and Discoveries*, Gothenburg, Jan.–Dec. 1781), which provided extracts and summaries from various European journals in order to follow the progress in 'the Practical Sciences', especially chemistry and physics.

In a way, it is an exaggeration to say that there were seventy learned periodicals because some of these journals were sequels to preceding publications, often integrated into virtual chains of periodicals. This was typical especially for the numerous reviews and miscellanies of Gjörwell. Most of the journals were short-lived, which means that the number of learned periodicals appearing simultaneously, i.e. at any given point of time, was for long periods rather small. Nevertheless, the overall quantity of learned journals is considerable, as is the breadth and variety of content as well as the journals' editorial and commercial intentions. It underscores the position of scientific knowledge and practice in the Swedish Enlightenment, also noted by Jonathan Israel in this volume.

24 For bibliographical notes on all Swedish periodicals here mentioned, see Bernhard Lundstedt, *Sveriges periodiska litteratur 1645–1899* (3 vols., Stockholm, 1895–1899), I. Also as electronic resource at <http://www.kb.se/samlingarna/tidningar-tidskrifter/soka/Sveriges-periodiska-litteratur/>.

Three Important Lines

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the learned journals is that a number of the most important ones form something of a coherent system with other journals based upon interrelated interests. I have tried to (partly) schematize this in a table (Fig. 2.1), where I distinguish a few important 'lines' of periodicals, indicating some connections between them and showing how they developed over time.

Ten of the fourteen periodicals included in this arrangement are reviews (which means that almost all of the period's reviews are included), whereas the rest can be seen as representing the core of the substantive journals: *Acta literaria Sueciae* (even if, as we have seen, it transgressed category borders), the *Handlingar* of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and—beginning in 1776—the *Hushållnings-Journal* (*Journal of Economy*), of the Royal Patriotic Society in Stockholm, which supported the agricultural progress and was in some respects both a counterpart and competitor to the Royal Academy of Sciences.

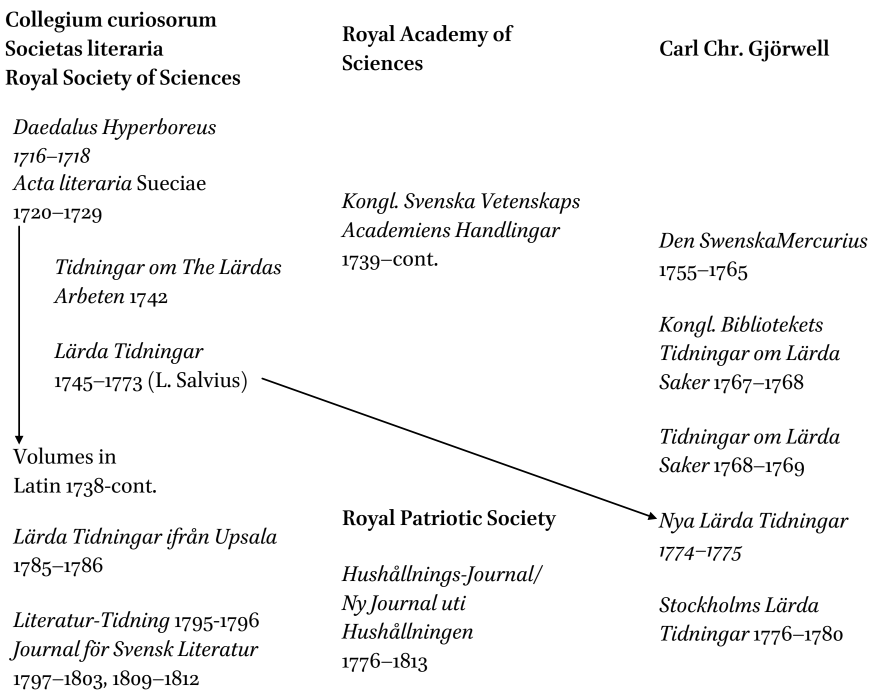

FIGURE 2.1 *Competition and coexistence: Three lines of Swedish learned journals in the eighteenth century.*
IMAGE: © AUTHOR

The *distribution over three columns* represents three important lines of ownership or responsibility. We have two 'institutional' lines, firstly the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala, along with its predecessors; and secondly the two nominally royal institutions of Stockholm. Apart from these we can distinguish an outstanding private enterprise, that of Gjörwell.

The oldest line includes the journals associated with Uppsala, the cradle of Swedish learned periodicals, beginning with the above-mentioned *Daedalus Hyperboreus* and *Acta literaria Sueciae*. A couple of spin-offs followed in the 1740s, and towards the end of the century, another set of reviewing journals followed (that did not in the same way emanate from the Society of Sciences). In the 1730s, the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm and its *Handlingar* were the fruit of a new, utilitarian economic and scientific policy, but it was not from the start self-evident that the Academy would publish a journal of its own. In fact there were lengthy deliberations between the 'modernists' in Stockholm and the 'traditionalists' in Uppsala about launching a joint journal in the vernacular, but this project was, for the time being, rejected by the Latinists in Uppsala, and so the Stockholm Academy started its own quarterly journal in Swedish.

It goes without saying that the purpose of this notable publication was not, as had been the case with *Acta literaria Sueciae*, to integrate Sweden in the (Latin-)European learned community. Its mission was a straightforward domestic one—namely, to economically reform the country with the help of modern science—and it is a paradox worth considering that this domestic discourse in reality became a truly European one, with numerous translations and extracts in foreign publications.[25] Thus the choice of language in *Handlingar* was a non-issue within the Academy. The chief question there was whether the journal should be printed in the modern and fashionable Roman type or in the German letters that were more familiar to large parts of the target audience, especially the peasantry; some asserted, however, that even the peasantry could now read Roman type. Others saw the use of modern letters as a way of orienting the journal towards its ideal, progressive addressee, who would have mastered Roman letters. In any case, after a few years in which both kinds of type appeared, Roman letters finally won the day.

25 See examples in Arne Holmberg, *Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens äldre skrifter i utländska översättningar och referat* (Uppsala–Stockholm, 1939), pp. 1–74. For some comments on this and supplementary data, see Ingemar Oscarsson, 'En revolution i offentligheten: om lärda tidskrifter i Europa under tidigmodern tid och om hur svensk vetenskap representerades i dem' ['A Revolution in the Public Sphere'], *Sjuttonhundratal. Nordic Yearbook for Eighteenth-Century Studies* (2011), pp. 93–115.

Ties and Connections

The split between the Uppsala and Stockholm circles notwithstanding, the two academic factions shared significant ties. In reality, all three lines (the columns in fig. 2.1) are intricately intertwined, with no sharp distinctions between 'institutional' and 'private'. The Academy leased the editing of its *Handlingar* to a private book-printer, Lars Salvius, who was also the head of the reviewing journal *Lärda Tidningar*. The latter journal was published in Stockholm but was in reality one of the *Uppsala* spin-offs, a result of the aspirations of the Society to produce a learned journal in Swedish when—after a few years—the success of the Academy's *Handlingar* had become evident. And after the death of Salvius in 1773 none other than his long-time stubborn competitor Gjörwell took over his economic and cultural heritage, creating (as fig. 2.1 indicates with an arrow) a sequel with a *Nya* [New] *Lärda Tidningar.* His position as both private entrepreneur and public official allowed Gjörwell to publish a reviewing journal with the title *Kongl. Bibliotekets Tidningar om Lärda Saker* [*Learned News of the Royal Library*].

The three lines represented in the three columns are also associated with various connections and shared goals involving editorial aims and content. After several years of opposing the practice of presenting science in the vernacular, the Uppsala Society in the 1740s changed its mind and introduced a policy that allowed more diversity in its journals' choice of language and contents. As a result, *Acta literaria Sueciae* continued as the core scientific publication (as the leftmost arrow in fig. 2.1 indicates), appearing entirely in Latin, but in a gesture towards the general public, two successive reviewing periodicals were launched in Swedish: the short-lived but rather substantial monthly *Tidning om The Lärdas Arbeten* (1742), followed a few years later by Salvius's weekly, *Lärda Tidningar*.

Lärda Tidningar was a 'learned gazette' (a little in the style of, e.g. the Danish *Laerde Tidender*) in which Salvius and his co-editor, Samuel Loenbom, presented short reviews and news items, mostly restricting the journal's material to the domestic sphere. The competing reviews of Gjörwell, which comprise the figure's third column, differed considerably from Salvius's journal in style and content due to this rather self-willed editor's rivalry with Salvius and his overall ambition of raising the standard of Swedish learned publicity. Gjörwell's *Den Swenska Mercurius* (1755–1765) was a substantial monthly with about 500 subscribers; it mainly introduced the works of foreign scholars and in general complemented rather than competed against *Lärda Tidningar.* In his reviews during the late 1760s, however, Gjörwell challenged his rival more directly, and having finally succeeded his old adversary with *Nya Lärda Tidningar*, he visibly reformed the journal by engaging several renowned scholars as reviewers (e.g. the famous chemist Torbern Bergman). This was a move that certainly

contradicted the *Encyclopédie* argument that reviewing journals and genuine scholarship were fundamentally at odds.

In contrast to the policies Gjörwell followed in *Nya Lärda Tidningar*, he mostly used his own writing in *Den Swenska Mercurius*. Always a prolific, not to say verbose writer, he borrowed much from foreign journals (of which he always kept a large assortment) and from scores of foreign correspondents. In terms of his European awareness and orientation, Gjörwell was undoubtedly the best-read and most knowledgeable Swedish publisher of his era.[26]

Connections between these journals also involved their content. Many of them touched upon the same material, and large portions of European learned journals in general, especially reviews, circulated within a system of reprints, second-hand reviews, abstracts, and abridged versions. But this practice of repeating existing content did not always take the forms that we might perhaps expect. It is quite natural that—for the sake of competition—both Gjörwell's *Mercurius* and Salvius's *Lärda Tidningar* should regularly publish abstracts of articles from the Royal Academy's *Handlingar*. But there is also an intriguing dimension to this practice. As the publisher of both *Handlingar* and *Lärda Tidningar*, Salvius had commercial interests in both periodicals, yet the abstracts from the quarterly *Handlingar* that appeared in the weekly *Lärda Tidningar* were so detailed that one might wonder whether the weekly was interfering with the quarterly's profits. One can only suppose that the two journals had different, but perhaps partially overlapping audiences in mind: *Handlingar* appealed to an audience of specialists and professionals (like scientists, factory owners, iron-works proprietors, and farmers), many of whom lived outside the capital; *Lärda Tidningar* aimed at an urban educated audience, including those involved in the book trade. If some of the weekly's readers could be enticed into buying the quarterly as well, from Salvius's perspective that was so much the better.

Final Remarks

Had we but world enough, and time, much more could be said, and it would be tempting to widen the discussion to include the journalism itself in these learned periodicals, especially the genre most in question here—reviews—and their art of summarizing, abstracting, and abridging the contents of books and

26 In his introduction to *Den Swenska Mercurius* in 1755, Gjörwell mentions more than a dozen European journals that he was keeping 'at considerable cost'. Another one that he considered 'the best of them all' but that was available only posthumously, so to speak, was the *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe* (Amsterdam, 1728–1753).

original articles from other periodicals. This craft was born and developed in the derivative journals from their very beginnings, and I find it all the more fascinating as it was, in the history of scientific communication, truly new, almost without pre-existing forms or genres. But the development of reviewing itself has not attracted very much attention (or rather, any at all) from historians, at least not compared to the numerous analyses that have been devoted to the development of the *original* scientific article.

The object of this brief survey has been a much more limited one, and to conclude I only want to refer in passing to my remarks above about eighteenth-century attitudes concerning the 'masses' of 'second-hand' or derivative periodicals, especially review journals. As we have seen, condescending pundits often pointed out that there were (too) many of them and pronounced them, in the words of one *encyclopédiste*, suitable mostly for those readers who were either too lazy or too busy to read books.

The stock of periodicals examined here is not very extensive in number, but in its way it forms a coherent and multifaceted system that appears to belie the complaints of review journal critics. Review journals hardly predominated in the Swedish learned press of the eighteenth century, whether in comparison to the 'substantives' or to collections and abstracting journals. But they did play their part, and a quite conspicuous one, in the important processes of disseminating scholarly news and also producing knowledge. The disparaging attitudes from some quarters notwithstanding, the learned world undoubtedly experienced a growing understanding of how convenient, but also how important in the long run it was to reach the broadest audience possible *par une espèce de Journal.*

CHAPTER 3

The Editor as Scout: The Rapid Mediation of International Texts in Provincial Journals

Aina Nøding

According to historian Fania Oz-Salzberger, "the Enlightenment was the first attempt of Europe's republic of letters to conduct a cosmopolitan conversation without a 'universal language'."[1] The rise of vernacular languages expanded the republic of letters into a 'democracy of letters', but the lack of a universal language meant that translation would play a key role in this new democracy. With translation and the new media of periodicals and newspapers, the flood gates of information opened, potentially to a mass public. The sense of information overload became a recurring topic of the day, and has been one ever since.

The French writer and journalist Mercier predicted in 1771 that a library in the year 2440 would have resolved this information overload by collecting extracts and abridgements of important texts into one small duodecimo volume.[2] But even in Mercier's own day, a similar, but more expansive, solution to the problem was in the hands of journalists. Newspapers and journals translated and reprinted enormous numbers of texts, particularly in the form of extracts and abridgements from books, manuscripts, letters, and of course other periodicals. The journalist was a key figure in selecting, translating, and adapting these texts—and consequently in introducing them to new audiences in new countries.[3] Journalists became an important component of this 'democracy of letters', both in the geographical center and at the periphery, facilitating the changes that Tortarolo in this volume terms 'the compression of time' and 'the globalization of space' (see Chapter 7).

One such key journalist on the periphery was the Norwegian Claus F. Fasting (1746–1791). Having practised as a critic, poet, and journalist in Copenhagen,

1 Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'The Enlightenment in Translation: Regional and European Aspects', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, 13.3 (2006), pp. 386, 389.

2 Leah Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel. From Richardson to George Eliot* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 1.

3 See, for instance, several of the contributions to Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski (eds.), *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2010).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004293113_005

the capital of the twin kingdom of Denmark–Norway, he returned to his hometown of Bergen in 1778. The Hanseatic town on the western coast was Norway's largest at the time, with a vibrant shipping trade. Still, from a European perspective, it was the periphery of the periphery. Denmark–Norway's absolutist monarch enforced this marginalized position by keeping provincial print media on a tight leash: Bergen had one print shop in the eighteenth century, and starting in 1765 one newspaper, and all printed texts were subject to the bishop's censorship. Even so, by 1778 several local journals appeared, most lasting less than two years.

Love and Unfaithfulness

On Fasting's return to Bergen, he launched a weekly journal, *Provinzialblade* (*Journal of the Province*), which was distributed widely in Southern Norway and Copenhagen over the next four years. From the outset he addressed his position as a mediator and adaptor of imported texts, as in this footnote to a story in one of the first issues:

> This story does not belong to me. It does not, in all parts, belong to its author either. …I sometimes cross (Cicero says) into a foreign camp, not as a deserter, but as a scout. I have borrowed this piece from I don't know which French journal. I have added, omitted, changed—and thus totally corrupted it, one would say, because it is against all human expectation that a Norwegian could write like a Parisian. So be it.[4]

The story in question, 'Love and Unfaithfulness (An Indian Tale)', had first been printed in *Mercure de France* eight years earlier to attract subscribers to a book of philosophical tales.[5]

In his editorial note, Fasting outlined what was to become his method as an editor: collecting texts from other sources and editing them as he saw fit. The

4 *Provinzialblade*, 3 (1778), p. 12: "Denne Fortelling hører ikke mig til; Den hører heller ikke, paa alle Steder, den til, som har skrevet den; …*Jeg gaar iblant over*, (siger Cicero) *til en fremmed Leyr, ikke som en Overløber, men som en Speider*. Jeg har laant dette Stykke av, jeg veed ikke hvilket, fransk Ugeskrift; Jeg har tilsat, udelukt, forandret,—og altsaa fordervet det aldeles, vil man svare, fordi det er imod al menneskelig Formodning, at en Nordmand kan skrive som en Pariser. Lad det saa være." The periodical is available online (scanned), courtesy of the University Library of Bergen: <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/2883> and The National Library of Norway <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2012020213001>.

5 'La Caraïbe', by the journalist, lawyer and playwright Jean Louis Araignon.

motivation was neither that he was pressed for time nor that he lacked imagination. Rather, it was his desire to act as a scout—to convey to the local audience and the rest of Denmark–Norway what was going on in the world. The texts he reprinted came from major French, German, and English periodicals and books. On their way to Bergen, the texts often travelled through several countries and appeared in other periodicals and various media before they reached Fasting's journal.

'Love and Unfaithfulness' is a desert island story in the tradition of *Robinson Crusoe*, but with an unhappy ending. The story's stranded Frenchman is unfaithful to his native lover, and is consequently eaten. In a way, this development illustrates on a textual level what Fasting's journal did with this and other stories: combining love and unfaithfulness, the journal treated the imported texts to a sort of textual cannibalism, chewing them up and digesting them so that what came out was a new text. In history, even more so: "Every story is a copy", Fasting claimed. For him, originality lay in the style rather than the content.[6]

This process of cultural recontextualization, 'localization', and hybridization (in Peter Burke's terms) of texts in eighteenth-century journals is vital to our understanding of textual and cultural transfers of that period. A close look at Fasting, a representative of the European periphery, reveals a picture of the communication routes in Europe that differs from the view from England, France, or Germany. And focusing on periodicals' textual transfers alters the perception of textual exchanges that has emerged from other studies on this topic, which have tended to look almost exclusively at the book market. Periodicals function as even greater eighteenth-century cultural movers than books and other media.

Cultural and Periodical Mobility

The international circulation of texts through journals and other media like newspapers and books was a well-known phenomenon in Europe and America by the time Claus Fasting set out as a scout. The definition of 'journal' in the French *L'Encyclopédie* (vol. 8, 1765) characteristically includes the notion of a periodical that serves as a medium for printing extracts for those with no time to read an entire book. This function was not only a feature of periodicals,

6 See *Provinzialblade*, 52 (1778): "Originaler finder ingen Stæd i Historien. Enhver Historie er en Kopie, og denne Kopie bør være uforanderlig i henseende til det Væsentlige.... Kun Stilen og Indledningen, Tilleg eller Forkortelser, Fortellingen, eller, hvad man vil kalde det, tilhøre mig. Resten er Historiens."

it was considered a particular advantage of that medium, which made a virtue of necessity and served as an essential tool for spreading the ideas of enlightenment—and counter-enlightenment.

As Stephen Greenblatt points out in his introduction to *Cultural Mobility*, cultures are often described and conceived as stable, national and historical units. This perception of containment and fixity has certainly prevailed in historians' treatment of the Norwegian press, including their take on Fasting's role in it. But cultures, including text cultures, undergo a constant process of change, contamination, and hybridization. Greenblatt claims that an effective way of tracing these larger issues is to follow the local micro histories about the movement of '"displaced" things and persons'.[7] Tracking how texts moved across borders, languages, and media allows a distinct aspect of periodicals and their significance to emerge. In a market where readers demanded more plentiful, varied, and recent reading materials than books alone could offer, periodicals were unparalleled in filling their needs. The motto of the two major London magazines of the mid-eighteenth century may serve as an example: they claimed to offer "More in Quantity and Greater Variety than in any Book of the Kind and Price".[8]

We can find expressions of similar sentiments in the journals of Copenhagen. The editor of the Danish Periodical *Bie-Kuben* (*The Beehive*), notes in 1754 that the periodical's adaptability and variation give it advantages over the book format. A periodical can constantly change according to the readers' demands, and it may contain a multitude of themes and genres in a way books rarely do: "But he who is not limited to one subject can follow every change in his countrymen's taste, and always have his sails filled with *Aura populari*, the wind of goodwill, from where ever it may blow."[9] We find the same thoughts expressed repeatedly by Fasting, particularly relating to readers in the provinces: "An author should provide for all kinds of readers.... The farmer and the merchant, the beer brewer and the poet are equally entitled to his attentions."[10] The image of a demanding and diverse public seems to be intrinsically linked to the introduction of periodicals.

7 Stephen Greenblatt (ed.), *Cultural Mobility. A Manifesto* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 17.

8 *The London Magazine* (published 1732–1785), and *The Gentleman's Magazine*. The motto is quoted in Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Periodicals. The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698–1788* (Westport/London, Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 202.

9 *Bie-Kuben, 1* (1754), p. 5: "Med [sic] den, som ikke er indskrænket til en eeneste Materie, kand følge sine Landsmænds Smag igjennem alle dens Forandringer, og altid have sine Seyl fulde af *Aura populari*, Bevaagenheds Vind, fra hva Hiørne den og blæser."

10 *Kritisk Journal* 50 (1773), pp. 529–30; *Provinzialblade*, 1 and 52 (1778). The quote is from the latter (nr. 1): "En Forfatter bør sørge for alle slags Læsere [...] Agerdyrkeren og Kiøbstædborgeren, Ølbryggeren og Poeten bør have lige Ret til hans Omsorg."

The Thoughts of Others

For periodicals in both Copenhagen and London, satisfying their audience's tastes and changing interests often meant offering readers a number of translations. *Bie-Kuben*'s editor, Lodde, typically included translated essays from the English journal *The Spectator* and its continental counterparts. The art and quantity of translations were determined by the type of periodical, its place of publication, and the editor's individual tastes and interests. In an absolute monarchy, there could be an additional motivation behind translations. Censorship was always lurking in the back of editors' minds. The editor of *Bie-Kuben,* subtitled *eller Andres Tanker* (*or the thoughts of others*) addresses this issue publicly in a preface to the journal:

> The itch to let one's thoughts be known has been so severe with some that they have subjected themselves to disgrace, life sentences, exile, and other inconveniences by the authorities and others, and have spoiled their happiness, which they achieved in their sleep and still could have possessed somnolently and calmly, if they had not too daringly revealed their thoughts.[11]

His solution for avoiding such 'inconveniences' was to print translations, hiding behind the thoughts of others. By the 1770s, pre-censorship had ended, apparently clearing the way for individuals to easily publish their own texts and thoughts. However, Claus Fasting, who continued to publish the texts of others, once wrote to a friend that he in fact preferred the days of pre-censorship, when the worst that could happen in the case of attempting to publish a text was to be told 'no'. With post-print censorship, one never knew if or when to expect a reaction from the censor, so authors did well to proceed with caution.[12] Throughout Fasting's journal we see this balancing act play out in his choice of texts and the way he edited them.

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11 "Ja denne Kløe efter at giøre sine egne Tanker bekiendte, har været saa hæftig hos nogle, at de have underkastet sig Vanære, Livs-Straf, Lands-Forviisning og andre Uleyligheder baade af Øvrigheden, og af andre, og forspildt en Lykke, som de sovende var komne til, og kunde sovende og roligen besiddet, dersom de ikke havde alt for dristigen aabenbaret deres egne Tanker." The preface is dated Copenhagen, 31 October 1754 and signed by the editor B.J. Lodde.

12 Letter from Claus F. Fasting to P.A. Heiberg, 15 January 1791 (MS Add. 294 2°, The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

Provinzialblade: From Thomas Paine to Chinese Gardening

Fasting's *Provinzialblade* (1778–1781) was a weekly journal consisting of eight pages in octavo. While the size was average for journals, the distribution was probably somewhat above average, with maybe about 300 copies sold. It can be seen as a crossover between a magazine and a review periodical. The concept of a magazine was to collect and reprint texts, while reviews often consisted of book extracts supplemented with critics' critical or uncritical remarks. In *Provinzialblade* we see a mixture of both kinds of periodicals. Translations make up about two-thirds of the content, while the rest consists of the editor's poems, a few essays, etc. The selections cover diverse topics and include various genres, such as anecdotes and biographies, articles on art and the natural sciences, poetry, stories, travelogues, and reports of inventions. The aim of providing this variety of international texts was to bring the world to Bergen. Fasting wanted to publish "news of what goes on in the world, from which Nature has separated us by mountains and oceans, whether as a punishment or a reward, I don't know."[13] He also stated that he wanted the periodical to

> help further knowledge of people and the world.... I wanted to join what the scholar knew with what the common man wanted to learn, I wanted to collect what others had dispersed, to choose the best, to make the useful less tedious and the pleasant more useful.[14]

Fasting aimed to be a mediator and facilitator, by adapting the content and style of the texts he published to please and instruct his readers. He saw this as particularly important in the provinces, where readers had limited access to literature from the capital and lived in "happy ignorance of all the nine Muses,—reading price lists".[15] So what *did* he collect and rewrite for his

13 *Provinzialblade*, 23 (1779), p. 179: "Efterretninger om hvad der foregaar i denne Verden, fra hvis Omgang Naturen har udelukt os ved Klipper og Have, jeg ved ikke, enten til Straf eller Belønning."

14 *Provinzialblade*, 52 (1778), p. 411: "befordre Bekiendtskab med Mennesker og Verden ... Jeg ville foreene hvad den Lærde veed med hvad den Ulærde ønsker at vide, jeg ville sanke hvad andre har adspredt, jeg ville vælge det beste, giøre det nyttige mindre kiedsommeligt, og det behagelige meere nyttig."

15 *Kritisk Journal*, 50 (1773), p. 529: "Periodiske Skrifter ere ingensteds mere nyttige end i Provinzerne; udelukt fra al Kundskab om Hovedstadens Literatur, og dens udødelige Verker (ifald den har nogen) lever den almindelige Mand der i en sørgeløs, ofte lykkelig, Ligegyldighed for alle ni Muser—og læser Priiskouranter."

readers? How topical could a periodical be on the periphery of the eighteenth-century communication system? Surprisingly topical, it seems.

The readers of *Provinzialblade* were in fact the first in Denmark–Norway to get a translation (if only an excerpt) of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.[16] Fasting published this translation in his sixth issue of *Provinzialblade*, only two years after the publication of the original pamphlet.[17] (The next translation [also in a journal, *Politisk og Physisk Magazin*] first emerged in Copenhagen sixteen years later.) Fasting introduced the text in an apologetic manner. He would not have printed it had not the events in America (the Revolutionary War) been so much in the public eye, and the war's impact so great. Assuring his readers that he had omitted certain passages (and thereby engaged in self-censorship), and claiming that the pamphlet was at heart a patriotic text, Fasting tried to minimize the impact of its radical content. He then attempted to disarm his audience further by observing that the text's poor style served as proof that Americans sometimes fight better than they write. In what would become his hallmark method for introducing his conservative readers to controversial texts, he adopted a strategy of cautious editing and witty remarks to head off potential objections to the material he was publishing.

Voltaire was another controversial favourite that Fasting continued to quote and praise, even at the expense of losing subscribers. Relying once again on humour to disarm his readers, Fasting gave this facetious imitation of their anticipated reaction to his choice of authors: "Why should we read him in your journal? We hate him, we detest him, we condemn him, and yet you take it on to defend him…[Your subscribers] are already fleeing by the numbers."[18]

In publishing texts by or on such radical thinkers as Paine, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, Fasting was careful to provide unprovocative excerpts. His strategy was to praise these authors and show their softer, uncontroversial sides to his readers. In doing so he could lower his audience's guard against new ideas and help his journal pass the censor's scrutiny. He seemed to think that if he introduced his audience to authors with international renown, his readers might take an interest in reading further and even delve into texts more radical than what he himself would be allowed to reprint. His 'method' of persuasion was the same approach he had used with Paine's text—a combination

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16 On the publication of Paine's *Common Sense* in French periodicals, see Tortarolos article in this volume.

17 *Provinzialblade*, 6 (1778), pp. 41–46.

18 *Provinzialblade*, 27 (1780), pp. 213–14: "Hvorfor skal man læse ham i Deres Blade? Vi hade ham, vi avskye ham, vi fordømme ham, og De paatage Dem endnu at forsvare ham. … Man flygter allerede Skareviis."

of witty remarks and careful editing of translations, seasoned with a pinch of self-deprecation.

In addition to excerpting some of the more uncontroversial passages from political or philosophical tracts, Fasting used another method of introducing his readers to radical thinkers: publishing their fictional works. This strategy he employed in the case of Montesquieu, whose story 'Apherdion and Astarte' (from *Lettres persanes*) he translated and published for the first time in Danish.[19] Printing the translation in his journal allowed Fasting to acquaint his readers with *Lettres persanes* and expose them to the themes of this particular story: religion and incestuous love between a brother and sister. In defence of this controversial choice, Fasting praised the story for both its style and content. He also appealed to Montesquieu's fame and cited the irreproachable Danish professor Sneedorff, who in his own journal recommended *Lettres persanes* as a model of style. Given the story's shocking subject matter, it may seem an odd choice for an excerpt intended to find favour with Fasting's audience. But Schaub's reading of it as a political allegory for democracy, where the 'household' is made up of equal partners who free themselves from slavery, appears less offensive and probably resonated with some readers.[20] In fact, publishing the story fits well with Fasting's covert strategy for addressing political issues in his provincial journal. Whether or not this political approach, characteristic of the era of Enlightenment in an absolutist state, actually worked is hard to tell. His journal's wide distribution and longevity (it lasted four years, quite an achievement for that time) suggest that the journal impacted, or at least found sympathy with, his readers.

In literary matters, Fasting's taste ran to the sentimental and pre-romantic literature of his day, even though he himself was a classicist. Lawrence Sterne, Christoph M. Wieland, and the Scottish hoax *Ossian* were all subjects of his pen, which produced translations as well as biographical articles. Again, Fasting's predilections did not always reflect those of his subscribers. Wieland's *Die Abderiten*, for instance, a satirical novel of German provinciality and political backwardness, did not go down well with his journal readers in Denmark–Norway. Fasting could not make out why the readers of the twin kingdom differed from those of other countries, where the work had been a great success, but, as he put it, fighting over taste or over religion was equally dangerous, so he gave in: "No Abderites, they shout, and I obey. I have no voice but the

19 *Provinzialblade*, 1 (1780), 'Apheridon og Astarte' (pp. 97–104).

20 Diana J. Schaub, *Erotic Liberalism: Women and Revolution in Montesquieu's Persian Letters* (Lanham, ML/London, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1995), p. 108.

people's."[21] After a few instalments, he discontinued the novel's publication and announced that it would later come out in book form in Copenhagen.

Many other important writers that Fasting translated, such as Adam Smith, Marmontel, Joseph Addison, and Francis Bacon, got a better reception from Fasting's readers, whom he was keen to please, if only for pecuniary reasons.[22] As a majority of his readers probably lived in Bergen, texts relating information on international trade and politics were particularly well received. As Fasting remarked only somewhat in jest, his readers found more sense in a thousand Dutch ducats than in all the world's scholars.[23] But he cheerfully supplied what his readers craved, relating news on medicine, inventions, unknown corners of the world, and the latest fashions stemming from Europe's trade with China. For instance, he published several reports of Captain Cook's adventures, reports on Chinese gardening, news from European medical and physical sciences, and repeated pleas to end slavery and the slave trade.

Fasting's translations of travelogues included extracts from a Frenchman's account of his visit to Bergen in 1768.[24] Writing from the perspective of an 'exotic object' himself, Fasting discussed how the visitor misrepresented and misunderstood this town at the margins of Europe. The publisher also added his own comments on translation and language barriers: misunderstandings between the visitor and the locals must have arisen from the fact that only women in Bergen spoke any degree of French. To make matters even more confusing, the travelogue reached Bergen in the form of a German translation whose translator clearly lacked fluency in French idiomatic expressions.[25] Not unlike the game of telephone, a series of textual transfers resulted in the final arrival of an unintelligible account, in this case one in which the readers would not have recognized their native city.

Finally, the journal is dotted with anecdotes about kings and queens—historical tales that echoed recent Danish history. The anecdotes featured kings who endangered the throne by showing more interest in partying than politics, or queens who fell for the wrong man. Only a few years earlier, the

21 *Provinzialblade*, 44 (1779), p. 352, in a statement dated Bergen, 4 August 1779: "Ingen Abderiter, raaber man, og jeg adlyder. Jeg har ingen Stemme uden Folkets." In France, *Die Abderiten* was considered untranslatable because of the cultural differences between France and Germany (Oz-Salzberger, 'The Enlightenment in Translation', 2006, p. 403).

22 Cf. *Provinzialblade*, 45 (1779), p. 360, where he promises not to cross his readers' wish for no more texts on female equality: "I understand how to earn my living, too." ("Jeg forstaaer ogsaa at leve.")

23 *Provinzialblade*, 4 (1778), p. 27.

24 *Provinzialblade*, 27–28 (1779), pp. 209–219.

25 *Provinzialblade*, 27–28 (1779), p. 217.

royal scandal of the century—the royal physician Struensee making the queen pregnant and *de facto* seizing the throne—had rocked the country. These well-known and much-debated events resonated with readers. At the same time, the anecdotes lent themselves to presenting examples of good government, and their humoristic content and 'foreignness' in form and content allowed them to pose as innocent stories rather than pointed political commentary. Reading and writing between the lines were widely practised art forms in the eighteenth century, and journals, with their often light-hearted tone and light subject matter, were the perfect forum for concealing political critiques. Fasting specialized in the double strategy of presenting his readers with foreign and politically controversial writers, ideas, and political systems, but undermining any apparent subversive message through satire or self-deprecation. The main object of this strategy was simply to expose the Dano–Norwegian public to these ideas by putting them into print.

Translating Transvestites

Fasting may have been a scout of foreign texts, but he was also a creative writer. Even in the classical tradition, compiling texts was seen as an active and creative process. Seneca compares men of letters reading and collecting texts from other writers to bees collecting nectar from which they produce honey.[26] Fasting made his 'honey' by collecting and editing texts, adding new introductions or conclusions, rewriting sentences, and omitting tedious or controversial paragraphs. Complaining that Hamburg was less famous for eloquence than for smoked meat, he insisted upon adding style to the texts he translated from German.[27] But while some of his alterations were certainly due to stylistic considerations, more often than not he edited the texts to make them less controversial to his readers and the authorities. Either way, his 'redressing' was a process of both cultural and textual transfer and transformation.

Such a 'redressing' took place both literally and figuratively in the case of the first world-famous transvestite. In 1777, Chevalier d'Eon, also known as Mademoiselle de Beaumont, was the talk of Europe. A forty-nine-year-old French spy and diplomat to Britain, Chevalier d'Eon, declared himself a woman and started to dress accordingly. As a spy in Russia, he had already disguised

26 Seneca's moral letter to Lucilius nr. 84, in Seneca, *Epistles 1–65*. Loeb Classical Library (Harvard University Press, 1917).

27 *Provinzialblade*, 52 (1778).

himself as a woman. Now he wanted to act the part permanently, and the question everyone discussed was whether or not he had been a woman all along. Either way, he was one of the first publicly known transvestites. Like their subject, the numerous accounts about Chevalier d'Eon that appeared in many languages in the new media themselves took on various disguises. D'Eon's story appeared in *The London Magazine* in September and was picked up and translated into German by a newspaper in Hamburg a month later.[28] The German translation deemphasized the topical setting of the London article—a recent trial to establish d'Eon's sex—and omitted details of the trial, focusing instead on anecdotes from the chevalier's life. Omitting several paragraphs, names, and details, the German adaptation is considerably shorter, even though it retains the wording from the original.

Fasting owned a copy of this particular issue of the paper, and it still exists in his library in Bergen. Along with a large number of other texts from this Hamburg newspaper, Fasting translated the article on Chevalier d'Eon and published it in *Provinzialblade* a year later with a new introductory paragraph and a few other minor changes.[29] His changes continued along the lines of the German paper's editorial amendments, decontextualizing the story from the news context of the trial. Without going into details of the news story reported in the original article, Fasting's introduction merely noted that everyone knew of 'her' and wanted to know more. In Fasting's 'redressing', d'Eon became the subject of a timeless piece of entertainment rather than news.

The London Magazine had the business idea of reprinting texts from other periodicals, so this article may have had an earlier origin. The seemingly endless process of circulating texts—and redressing them—in magazines, newspapers, and books was a significant trade-mark of the eighteenth-century media landscape. Indeed, by publishing a magazine himself, Fasting joined a European network of text circulation and transformation.

Mapping Textual Transfers

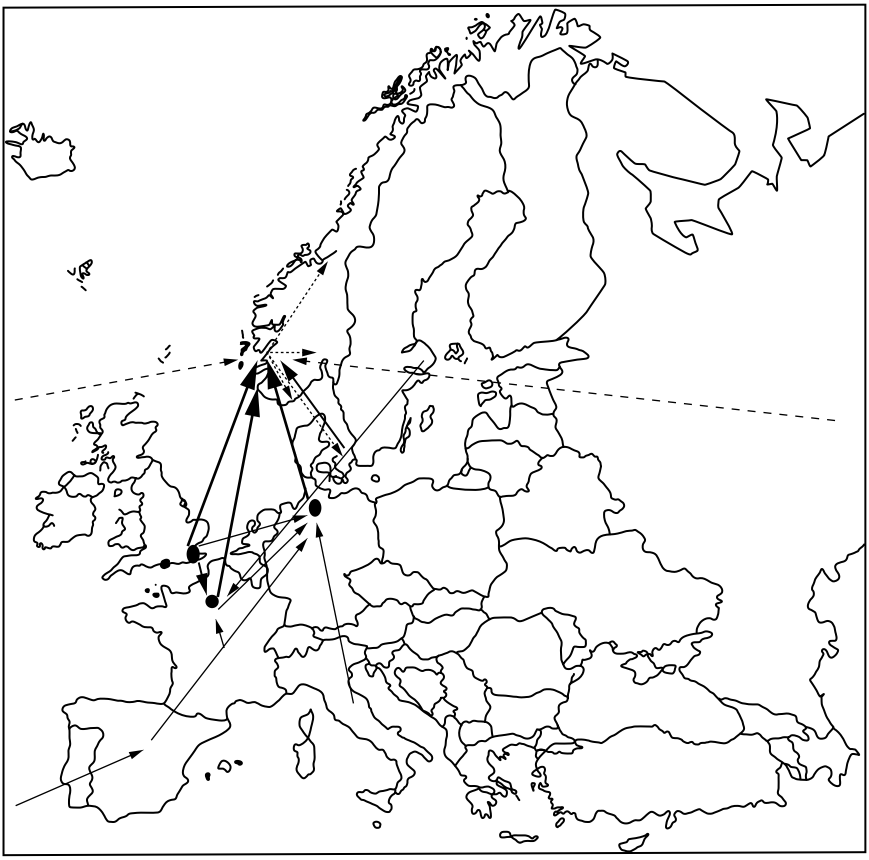
The route the d'Eon text takes, from London (via Hamburg) to Bergen, is characteristic of the geographical movement of texts ending up in Fasting's periodical. The appended map (Map 3.1) outlines some of the main transfer lines of texts found in *Provinzialblade*.[30] As the wider arrows indicate, the main sources

28 *Hamburgische Adress-Comtoir-Nachrichten* (30 October 1777).

29 *Provinzialblade*, 43 (1778).

30 The map is provisional.

of texts are Germany (particularly by way of Hamburg, the main postal gateway to Denmark and a major German centre for periodicals), France (i.e. Paris, to some extent via Hamburg), and Britain (some via Hamburg, and in one case, via Paris). Interestingly, the two Swedish texts probably took a circuitous route to Denmark–Norway—via Paris. The texts did not necessarily follow direct routes, and they often came from further afield, for example from America or Asia. I have not been able to establish how they all reached Fasting. Generally it is difficult to determine where the texts were printed and reprinted and which sources Fasting used. From Bergen, the texts reached the major towns of Southern Norway and Copenhagen.



MAP 3.1 *The texts in Fasting's* Provinzialblade *mainly came from Hamburg, Paris and London. Some of the texts from London and Paris came via Hamburg.* (*Dotted lines: distribution of* Provinzialblade *in Denmark–Norway; dashes: the specific routes of American and Asian texts are unknown.*)
IMAGE: © AUTHOR

This map of course charts only how one man—who was (as his friends described him) 'French to the core' and therefore not entirely representative of Dano-Norwegian editors at the time—picked texts for one periodical, at a specific time.[31] But it does give us an impression of Germany's role in mediating enlightenment and entertainment in Norway, with some texts also imported directly from France and Britain. Still, the texts Fasting chose from these other text cultures and sources reflect a combination of personal taste, legal limitations of the time, and the requests and wishes of his readers, whose beliefs and tastes often ran counter to his own.

Furthermore, as Greenblatt points out in his manifesto on cultural mobility, a map drawn by tracing the mobility of texts and ideas does not give a full picture: echoing Robert Darnton, he names other physical aspects of those transfers that require consideration as well.[32] What texts were actually physically available? Routes and manners of transportation, agency, and local distribution were crucial. Did periodicals move faster than books because of the weekly mail? Were there any economic or political restrictions on importing texts, and if so, did individual agency open up new avenues of transfer, open or covert? Even if scholars have done quite a lot of work on the history of the book in Denmark–Norway, they have done little on how books crossed borders, and even less (if anything) on periodicals crossing borders. My work so far, on newspapers and journals, indicates that periodicals and their texts were distributed relatively fast, even to Norway. They were often more widely read than imported books, simply because translated texts were available in these media long before they appeared on the book market. Translations from books and magazines appearing in newspapers were often advertisements for those same publications, sold or rented from the same print shops that published the newspapers.[33]

Transforming the View on Textual Transfer

This seemingly endless circulation of texts—and of redressing them—in magazines, newspapers, and books was a significant trade-mark of the eighteenth-century media landscape. Indeed, by publishing a magazine

31 According to Johan Herman Wessel. See A.H. Winsnes, *Det norske selskab 1772–1812* (Oslo, Aschehoug, 1924), p. 124.

32 Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*, pp. 250–252.

33 Aina Nøding, *Vittige kameleoner. Litterære tekster i norske adresseaviser 1763–1769* (Oslo, University of Oslo, 2007).

himself, Fasting joined a European network of text circulation and transformation. In Fasting's case, the geographical pattern of diffusion of texts imported to his periodical seems to a large extent to match the pattern drawn up by Franco Moretti for the spread of the European novel.[34] That is, new texts, genres, and ideas moved, with few exceptions, from three core European countries (Britain, Germany, and France) to the periphery. Movements from the semi-periphery (e.g. Italy and Spain) to the periphery went by way of the core countries. For the novels Moretti traces, considerable time elapses before their translations appear at the periphery. This lack of contemporaneity in the diffusion of new genres and works holds for books but not necessarily for periodicals. In the case of the latter venue, transfers could occur within weeks, months, or a few years, but very rarely did this process require decades. The periodicity and the possibility of translating and publishing extracts of books gave the periodicals great advantages over books with regard to rapid transfer.

This adds nuance to Moretti's and also William St Clair's conclusions that new ideas and texts reached the periphery and less affluent readers very late. In his voluminous study of reading in the Romantic period, St Clair limits his scope to books. That leads him to conclude that it took a long time for new ideas to trickle down to the segment of readers who could only afford inexpensive editions.[35] When discussing the dissemination of new texts and ideas, omitting periodicals thus becomes a methodological stumbling block. In a Norwegian context, omitting periodicals would mean placing the reception of Thomas Paine, Sa'di, or Lessing several decades later than it actually occurred and overlooking the reception of some authors entirely. Omitting periodicals from discussions of reception would also create a distorted picture of the audience for various writers and their works: for instance, a translated text by Montesquieu published in a popular magazine would reach a wider and much larger audience than a book edition of the same work published only in the original French.

Transferring texts and ideas is a more complex process than translation, as Fasting noted. He was not a deserter, but a scout, importing texts and

34 Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London, Verso, 1998), pp. 171–174.

35 William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chapter 11. St Clair does mention anthologies, readers, and school texts as books that widened access to new texts (pp. 135–137). A study like Robert D. Mayo's on *The English Novel in the Magazines 1740–1815* (Evanston/London, 1962), which lists 1375 pieces of long prose fiction, indicates the huge scale of literary texts printed in a non-book form.

information. He did what both core and periphery did: translate and transform texts into versions with local relevance and sometimes local subtexts. And in doing so, he made his contribution to the diversification and diffusion of 'the Enlightenment', by way of a periodical. His journal is a statement about what he considered important and relevant, a voice as much *from* the province as *for* the province.

CHAPTER 4

Struensee in Britain: The Interpretation of the Struensee Affair in British Periodicals, 1772

Merethe Roos

> The new favourites, grown giddy in this rapid elevation, lost all appearances of moderation in their prosperity. Count Bernstorff and the old faithful servants of the crown, were disgraced and banished from court: and such of the ancient nobility as did not degrade themselves by their conduct, met with the same fate.[1]
>
> His prepossession in favour of the English recommended him to the esteem and confidence of a young unguarded princess, who could not suspect an innocent freedom could be interpreted as a crime, and affability misrepresented by an indecent familiarity, by an artful, vigilant, and wicked rival.[2]

These two very dissimilar quotations concern the same man, Johann Friedrich Struensee (1735–1772), and his closest aide, Enevold Brandt (1738–1772). Struensee functioned as the de facto political leader of the absolute monarchy of Denmark-Norway for fifteen months between the years 1770 and 1772. The quotations are taken from articles that appeared in 1772 in two different British periodicals, *The Annual Register* and *Town and Country Magazine*, respectively, and they reveal different takes on Struensee and his politics in Britain. The two excerpts illustrate how a single political incident could be spun differently and directed toward different audiences, depending upon the magazines in which they appeared. One of these periodicals, *The Annual Register*, is regarded as an argumentative political magazine. The other, *Town and Country Magazine*, was a periodical that anticipated our own contemporary tabloid culture.

The political incident to which both periodicals refer is of special interest to Britain because a member of the British royal family played a central role in the overthrow of Struensee's government. Struensee had come to Copenhagen

1 *The Annual Register, or a view of the History, Politics, and Literature for the year 1772*. 6th Edition. (London, 1800), p. 72 (Chapter VI).

2 'Memories of the Count Struensee and de Brandt, lately butchered by the sentence of an iniquitous Tribunal, wholly influenced by the Brunchault of the North', *Town and Country Magazine, or Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment* (1772), p. 246.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004293113_006

as the King's personal physician in 1769, and he soon found an outlet for his political ambitions: he could take advantage of the fact that the mentally ill Christian VII could only function as the nominal leader of the state. Struensee's political success was certainly tied to his affair with Queen Caroline Mathilda (1751–1775), who gave birth to their daughter in 1771. Caroline Mathilda was British-born, the youngest child of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and hence also a sister of George III. In 1771, after the birth of his daughter, Struensee appointed himself *maître des requetes* and officially declared himself Count to become the nation's political leader.

As Jonathan Israel indicates in his chapter in this volume, Struensee's actions provoked an outcry from the public at large, not only because of his intimate relationship with Caroline Mathilda, but also because of his leadership style and his apparent political objectives. He introduced radical political reforms, which were rapidly implemented and entailed, among other things, a simplification of bureaucracy, significant liberalisation of criminal laws, and far more liberal moral and social regulations. In addition to the public objections to his manner and political views, there were other grounds for dissatisfaction with Struensee among his contemporaries. Firstly, as John Christian Laursen has underlined, for an increasingly patriotic and nationally oriented Danish population, it was regarded as highly insulting that Struensee (who originally came from Schleswig-Holstein and thereby was regarded as a foreigner) made no efforts to learn Danish.[3] Secondly, Struensee was accused of being a Spinozist.[4] Baruch de Spinoza (1632–1677) was known to be the most significant heretic in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because he denied the existence of an omnipotent and transcendent God. And thirdly, as Michael Bregnsbo has pointed out, Struensee obviously misunderstood the political culture of absolutism as it had been practiced in Denmark since 1660.[5] Struensee's time in power ended with a coup d'etat on 16 January 1772, carried out under orders from Queen Dowager Juliane Maria (1729–1796), her son Hereditary Prince Frederik (1753–1805), and the theologian Ove Høegh Guldberg (1731–1808). After the revolution, Struensee and Brandt were arrested,

3 John Christian Laursen, 'Spinoza in Denmark and the Fall of Struensee, 1770–1772', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 61.2 (Apr. 2000), pp. 189–202, there p. 192.

4 Laursen shows that among Danish court official Bolle Wilhelm Luxdorph's 45 volumes of press freedom writings, there are many pamphlets that accuse Struensee of being a Spinozist. Ibid.

5 Michael Bregnsbo, 'Struensee and the Political Culture of Absolutism', in Pasi Ihalainen et al. (eds.), *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution. Nordic Political Cultures 1740–1820.* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), pp. 54–65.

charged, tried, and condemned to death for having usurped the King's power. The execution took place at Østerfælled in Copenhagen on 28 April 1772.

The events in Denmark drew attention from other countries. Reactions flooded in promptly from all over Europe, and the international press covered the incidents and commented upon Struensee's politics as well as his fate. Because they centred upon a British royal, the incidents in Denmark received exhaustive coverage in the British press, with each periodical narrating the events in accordance with its own style, profile, and preferences. Articles on the topic reflected a variety of approaches, ranging from a gossipy focus on the royal affair in periodicals like *Town and Country Magazine* to descriptions of Struensee's political tactics in the far more serious *Annual Register*. These differences can clearly be seen in the quotations cited in the beginning of this article.

Through close readings of pieces appearing in *The Annual Register* and *Town and Country Magazine*, this article will shed light on two dissimilar British interpretations of a political incident in Copenhagen. These differing interpretations correspond to different aspects of the Enlightenment in Britain. The excerpt from *The Annual Register* reveals a rather negative attitude towards Struensee and his politics. This attitude is symptomatic of the article as a whole and suggests a fundamental difference between Struensee's politics and the political tendencies of the author writing for *The Annual Register*. These tendencies coincide with prevailing political trends in Britain at the time. In the present article, I will argue that Struensee can be said to represent a *radical enlightenment,* and that the negative attitudes in *The Annual Register* can be explained in light of the differences between Struensee's political and moral outlook and contemporary British politics. The lineage of the radical enlightenment can, according to Jonathan Israel, be traced back to Spinoza. This strain of thought spread clandestinely throughout Europe until surfacing in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[6] Struensee was a proponent of many aspects of the radical enlightenment: he criticized ecclesiastical authority and religion, advocated press freedom, and instituted extensive liberal societal changes. Two of his idols were singled out by Israel as representatives of the radical enlightenment: the radical French philosopher Claude Helvetius, and the physician Julien Offray de La Mettrie.[7]

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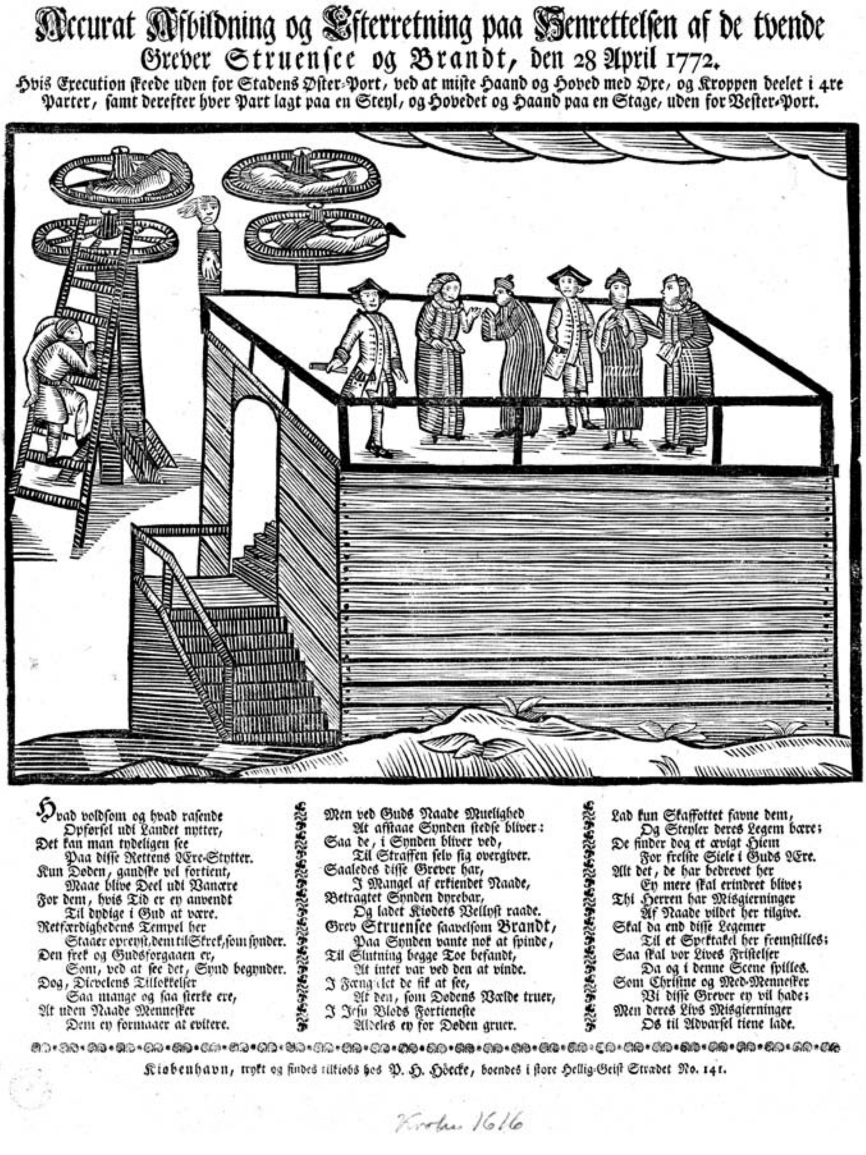
6 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001); *Enlightenment Contested. Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006); *Democratic Enlightenment. Philosophy, Revolution and Human Rights 1750–1790* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011).

7 Asser Amdisen, *Til nytte og fornøjelse* (Copenhagen, Akademisk, 2012), pp. 67–69.



Accurat Afbildning og Efterretning paa Henrettelsen af de tvende
Grever Struensee og Brandt, den 28 April 1772.
Hvis Execution skeede uden for Stadens Øster-Port, ved at miste Haand og Hoved med Øre, og Kroppen deelet i 4re Parter, samt derefter hver Part lagt paa en Steyl, og Hovedet og Haand paa en Stage, uden for Vester-Port.

Hvad voldsom og hvad rasende
Opførsel udi Landet nytter,
Det kan man tydeligen see
Paa disse Rettens Ære-Stytter.
Kun Døden, gandske vel fortient,
Maae blive Deel udi Vanære
For dem, hvis Tid er ey anvendt
Til dydige i Gud at være.
Retfærdighedens Tempel her
Staaer opreyst, dem til Skrek, som synder.
Den frek og Gudsforgaaen er,
Som, ved at see det, Synd begynder.
Dog, Dievelens Tillokkelser
Saa mange og saa sterke ere,
At uden Naade Mennesker
Dem ey formaaer at evitere.

Men ved Guds Naade Mulighed
At afstaae Synden stedse bliver:
Saa de, i Synden bliver ved,
Til Straffen selv sig overgiver.
Saaledes disse Grever har,
I Mangel af erkiendet Naade,
Betragtet Synden dyrebar,
Og ladet Kiødets Vellyst raade.
Grev Struensee saavelsom Brandt,
Paa Synden vante nok at spinde,
Til Slutning begge Toe befandt,
At intet var ved den at vinde.
I Fængslet de fik at see,
At den, som Dødens Vælde truer,
I Jesu Blods Fortieneste
Aldeles ey for Døden gruer.

Lad kun Skaffottet favne dem,
Og Steyler deres Legem bære;
De finder dog et ævigt Hiem
For frelste Siele i Guds Ære.
Alt det, de har bedrevet her
Ey mere skal erindret blive;
Thi Herren har Misgierninger
Af Naade villet her tilgive.
Skal da end disse Legemer
Til et Spektakel her fremstilles;
Saa skal vor Lives Fristelser
Da og i denne Scene spilles.
Som Christne og Med-Mennesker
Vi disse Grever ey vil hade;
Men deres Livs Misgierninger
Os til Advarsel tiene lade.

Kiøbenhavn, trykt og findes tilkiøbs hos P. H. Höecke, boendes i store Hellig-Geist Strædet No. 141.

ILLUSTRATION 4.1 *The royal physician Struensee and count Brandt were executed for treason outside of Copenhagen in 1772, and consequently dismembered and their body parts displayed as a warning to the public.*
IMAGE: © THE ROYAL NATIONAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN

But at the time Britain was dominated by more moderate politics and showed a marked preference for what Jonathan Israel identified as the conservative wing of Enlightenment thought, *moderate enlightenment*. His differences with mainstream British philosophical and political leanings aside, Struensee was also rebelling against the prevailing moral order. Hence, among influential politicians in Britain who were eager to uphold established norms politically as well as morally, he must thus have been regarded as unfit to rule a country.[8] The political culture in Britain can thereby be said to coincide with that of Denmark, where the high number of pamphlets accusing Struensee of Spinozism demonstrated an official political atmosphere that was much more moderate than Struensee's politics proved to be.

Turning from the serious *Annual Register* to the text from *Town and Country Magazine*, we find quite a different focus. Here, the central issue is Struensee's sexual affair with Caroline Mathilda, and the tone is one of approbation. Scholars like Robert Darnton and James van Horn Melton have argued that the eighteenth century showed a fascination for publicizing the private, particularly as it relates to sexuality and pornography.[9] The large number of eighteenth-century books and illicit magazines on the market that exposed the sexual lives of cultural figures and fictional characters certainly supports this notion. In Britain as elsewhere in Europe, the royals and courtiers had no immunity from these exposés. Given this public climate, Johann Friedrich Struensee must have presented an ideal target: a politician widely known throughout Europe, he had an extramarital sexual affair with a young British princess turned foreign queen.

The overall aim of this article is to demonstrate how periodicals can illustrate different aspects of eighteenth-century British society. The discussion is divided into three parts. The first focuses on the piece on Struensee from *The Annual Register* as an example of the moderate enlightenment political views that dominated British political discourse at the time. The second part will present the piece from *Town and Country Magazine.* Finally, the article

8 Richard Sennett has demonstrated that the political sphere was increasingly judged by private moral standards in Britain in the eighteenth century. This can be seen, for instance, in the Wilkesite case, where conservative politicians like Edmund Burke and Samuel Johnson argued that John Wilkes (1727–1797) was unfit to participate in the British government. The British politician John Wilkes was a defender of liberty and a rebel who argued against the establishment, especially with regard to sexual philandering. See Richard Sennett, *The Fall of the Public Man* (New York, Knopff, 1977), pp. 99–106.

9 James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 102–103, and Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1995), pp. 72–73.

concludes with remarks on what these two texts can tell us about central aspects of the Enlightenment in Britain.

The Annual Register

The Annual Register was—and still is—a yearly publication reviewing history, politics, and current literature. It was founded in 1758 by James and Robert Dodsley, and in that same year the Dodsley brothers engaged Edmund Burke (1729–1797) as its writer and editor. The periodical's aim was originally to provide in-depth analysis of the past year's events and to present papers, poetry, and reports concerning practical issues and other matters.[10] Each volume sold widely and came out in several subsequent editions.[11] Although Burke was publicly reticent regarding his involvement with *The Annual Register*, his collaborations with the publication probably continued until he entered the House of Commons in 1766.[12] We cannot be certain when he relinquished his editorship, but we know that a man called Thomas English succeeded Burke from 1766 onwards until the end of the century.[13] *The Annual Register* enjoyed a reputation as a highly objective publication that provided expansive information, and its political profile accorded with Burke's own tastes and ideas.[14] Many of Burke's closest friends and self-professed disciples were involved with the publication, which continued its close association with him even after he left.

10 The preface to the first volume states this goal explicitly: "Not confined to a monthly publication, we have an opportunity of examining with care the products of the year, and selecting what many appear most deserving of notice. We have from the same cause the advantage of order; we are better able to rank several kinds under their proper heads; at least with as much exactness as the nature of a miscellany will allow." 'Preface', *The Annual Register, or a view of the History, Politics, and Literature for the year 1758.* Second Edition (London, 1761), p. IV.

11 I have not been able to find the exact number of prints on the market for the 1772 volume.

12 Modern scholarship has relied upon conflicting statements from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for understanding Burke's role in this periodical. There are indications that Burke was engaged in writing towards the end of the century. Some writers, however, have disputed these sources and argued that Burke's engagement with *The Annual Register* ended when he entered the House of Commons. See James E. Tierny, 'Edmund Burke, John Hawkesworth, the *The Annual Register*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 42.1 (Winter, 1978), pp. 57–78.

13 Thomas W. Copeland, 'Edmund Burke's friends and *The Annual Register*', *The Library* (1963), (1), pp. 29–39.

14 Ibid., p. 30.

The piece on the Struensee Affair is the sixth of nine texts in the history section in the *Register*'s 1772 edition. The report is relatively long compared to articles in other British magazines covering this incident: ten quarto pages with two columns. Compared to the other reports in the history section of this volume, however, this report appears almost cursory in its treatment of the subject matter.[15] Its anonymous author even adds comments on themes that are unrelated to the events in Copenhagen and undemarcated from the general focus of the article.[16] But despite the meandering structure, the piece keeps its main focus on the Struensee affair.[17] The report's author covers the person of Struensee, his political ideology, and the downfall of his political reign. It includes descriptions of the Palace Revolution as well as the arrest, detention, and trial of Struensee and Brandt. It provides precise information about those who were connected with the affair and the trial.

The author blends political comments and biographical details throughout the text, creating a clearly diachronic narrative replete with specifics and sober descriptions of events.[18] Struensee and Brandt emerge as both victims of a badly functioning political system and naïve adherents to French ideas. The author refers to them as convenient tools who easily could be used by France to dishonour Count Johann Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff (the former prime minister), who had upheld a much better political system.[19] Bernstorff was known as a diplomatic statesman with a strong international focus and one who was duly supported by the King and influential politicians. The political system

15 See, for instance, the text on the revolution in Sweden in the preceding, 24-page chapter. The moderate attention towards the incidents in Copenhagen may have a connection to the writer's views on the importance of these events: In the first chapter, the writer comments that he is not sure whether the incidents in Denmark deserve to be called a revolution. See *The Annual Register*, pp. 7–8 (Chapter 1).

16 These themes include the peace concluded by the Danes and the Algerines, reconciliation between the French King and the princes of the blood, food shortages in many countries, and the magnificence of Russia's Empress. *The Annual Register*, p. 70.

17 Such a complex structure, with several themes seamlessly entwined within one chapter, seems to be typical for the texts in this periodical.

18 This matter-of-fact manner in describing events is apparent in the following remarks about crime and punishment in the Danish court: "There were no other capital executions exhibited; a Count Woolinsky is said to have had his tongue cut out, for having said some things that reflected upon the King, and upon the Queen Julia, and to have banished the Danish dominions forever." *The Annual Register*, p. 77.

19 "Count Bernstorff, and the old and faithful servants to the crown, were disgraced and banished from court; and such of the ancient nobility as did not degrade themselves by their conduct met with the same fate." *AR*, p. 72.

Bernstorff represented was therefore closer to the *Annual Register*'s ideal government than the one Struensee and Brandt introduced. "Struensee", opines the writer, "was one of those numerous adventurers, which from the great number of governments, abound more in Germany than in other countries. They are generally people of low birth, who receive a peculiarly mixed education that is necessary to the pursuits for which they are intended."[20] The author concedes that Struensee's life and deeds revealed a man of striking character, and by most accounts he was a man of insinuating address with few abilities or principles but with great ambition. However, as the writer notes, "his progress in favour was so rapid as to amaze everybody." Struensee and his allies "lost all appearance of moderation in their prosperity. They were professed freethinkers, and they publicly laughed at those religious forms and opinions to which people were most strongly attached." It is obvious that the author wants to emphasise the overall immorality and lack of restraint that characterized Struensee's government: the court was loose and dissolute; masked balls and entertainments were held regularly; foreign amusements, manners, and customs were introduced; and the plain manners and sober decorum of the natives were treated with the utmost sovereign contempt. Struensee also presided over the repeal of a severe law against adultery. In light of this, the result of the trial against the two was not surprising. "After more than two months examination, the grand commission at length passed sentence of death, forfeiture of estate, and degradation from their rank, upon the two counts, Struensee and Brandt."[21]

According to the piece's author, Struensee's and Brandt's political leadership would weaken the nation's military defence and eventually threaten the country's independence and strategic position in relation to its neighbours.[22] In particular their efforts to dissolve the King's guards and to incorporate them into other regiments seemed to pose the threat of delivering the country's administration into the hands of foreigners, and these actions by Struensee and Brandt set off a wave of rumours among the commoners about the counts' corruption and suspect motives. The reactions after the coup could also clearly be seen in light of this growing dissatisfaction with the protagonists: "The populace", says the writer, "received some intelligence of these transactions early in the morning, and proceeded to great excesses, in the eagerness of their

20 *The Annual Register,* p. 71.

21 *The Annual Register,* p. 76.

22 This political risk is also mentioned elsewhere in this periodical. In the first chapter the author notes that Denmark is surrounded by dangerous neighbours and cannot afford to have a weak government. See *The Annual Register*, pp. 7–8 (Chapter 1).

joy for the downfall of their favourites." They reacted by celebrating in the streets, which in turn caused riots and plundering: nearly a hundred houses are said to have been pillaged upon this occasion. Struensee's political ambitions and high thoughts of himself thus strikingly contrast the brute reality of his fate: he, who had seen himself as an idol of crowded levees, ended up chained to the floor in a dark dungeon, awaiting his judgment, and execrated and humiliated by those who earlier had been proud of his ideas and thoughts, says the writer.

In other words, the report from Copenhagen can be seen in the context of some overall aims to uphold certain standards and political norms in society standards. The report defends a system of politeness and a rational patrician order while seeking to appeal to its readers' sense of morality and the need to uphold current political and religious practices.[23] The implicit ideal is a stable society that eschews political as well as religious upheavals, and the author promotes this ideal through warnings and exhortations concerning the consequences of the events in Copenhagen. The anonymous writer echoes the editor's statement from the first sentence of the volume for that year when he points out that the current state of unrest and political change in Denmark is also characteristic for the rest of Europe and poses a serious threat to stability on the continent.[24]

Clearly the political ideas and aspirations that Struensee and Brandt represent go against the prevailing political attitudes of *The Annual Register*. The article points out the influence of French ideas on Struensee's views, and in fact, he is known to have profoundly admired several French philosophers and political thinkers, including the two mentioned above, Helvetius and de La Mettrie. As Asser Amdisen has shown, Helvetius's *De l'Esprit* (1758) was a book

23 The prevailing religiousness seems to be an important aspect for the author. He states, in a rather harsh tone, that the state of affairs under Struensee's dominion could not be expected to last, not least because Struensee and Brandt ridiculed the religious norms and habits in Denmark. Later in the text, when reporting from the scaffold, the writer comments upon Brandt, who was the first to be executed: "He was attended by a clergyman, and behaved with decency upon the scaffold, but shewed an unconcern and indifference, which seemed to the populace in some degree a confirmation of the report that had been spread of his being an atheist." *The Annual Register*, p. 77.

24 The editor writes, "The great changes which the transactions of present year have introduced in the political system of Europe, and those still greater, which they seem capable of producing in their consequences, are matters of serious consideration to individuals as well as states. It would not require a long succession of such events to cause a total disarrangement of the European commercial, political, and even religious establishments." *The Annual Register*, preface.

of great importance for Struensee, who even met the author in Paris in 1768.[25] *De l'Esprit* was regarded as highly provocative among contemporaries, even the French: as Jonathan Israel has pointed out, the book was banned by the French Church and State for its atheism, and it even provoked moderate enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire and Hume.[26] But despite this connection to radical French ideas, Struensee appeared to have shown more moderate leanings in his practical politics, deriving much of his inspiration from Montesquieu.[27]

Perhaps the best framework for understanding the attitude toward Struensee and Brandt reflected in the *Register* report is a book written by Edmund Burke shortly before the events in Copenhagen. This book, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontent* (1770), can be read as a textbook of Whig ideas, and according to E.J. Payne, Burke intended it to serve as the party's creed.[28] Among other things, Burke's *Thoughts* can be seen as a refutation of Bolingbroke's *The Idea of a Patriot King* (1738), in which Bolingbroke made the case for the patriot king as a hero who stood above all parties and defended the British constitution at home and abroad.[29] Burke, on the contrary, had a more reformist attitude and argued for reigning in the Crown's unrestrained political power and securing legitimate influence for political parties. Burke promoted the idea of politics as a practical matter, dependent upon practice and observations. The constitutional system that he defends in *Thoughts* suggests a reciprocal balance of responsibility and authority between the King and the people.[30] It is worth remembering, however, that Burke envisioned a system based upon an oligarchy of landowners and nobles, not a constitutional democracy. His political system was exclusively connected to upper social classes and did not include all social layers as legitimate purveyors of meaning and potential political power. For example, in his defence of the Freeholders in Middlesex, he clearly identifies members of this socially privileged group with 'the people'.[31]

25 Amdisen, *Til nytte og fornøjelse*, p. 67.

26 Israel, *Democratic enlightenment*, p. 71–72.

27 Amdisen, *Til nytte og fornøjelse*, p. 75.

28 E. J. Payne, 'Introduction', in Edmund Burke, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontent* (4 vols., Indianapolis, Liberty Fund 1999), I. 17.

29 David Armitage, 'A Patriot for Whom? The Afterlives of Bolingbroke's Patriot King', *The Journal of British Studies*, 36.4, pp. 397–418, there p. 403. E. J. Payne underlines that in light of this relation to *Patriot King*, the reader should take care not to read Burke's work as an ultimate form of Whiggism. Payne, 'Introduction', p. 17.

30 Burke, *Thoughts*, p. 101.

31 Burke, *Thoughts*, pp. 121–29.

The article about Struensee and Brandt in *The Annual Register* pleads for the same reciprocal balance of responsibility and authority found in Burke's text. The report's author clearly views the system of favouritism with a critical eye and repeatedly refers to Struensee and Brandt as 'favourites' (a 'favourite' denotes 'one who stands unduly high in the favour of a prince' or other ruler and enjoys the resulting political power).[32] In his view, Britain deserves praise for taking no great interest in the events in Denmark: such an involvement from Britain could have been regarded as supporting this system of favouritism, which the author associates with weak reigns.[33] The understanding of favouritism presupposed in the report from Copenhagen clearly accords with Burke's *Thoughts* and even seems to plot the different actors in Copenhagen according to a political scheme straight out of Burke's book.[34] In the beginning of the article, when the writer comments on the lack of real influence from the people, the term 'the people' refers to a group that is later more specifically associated with men like Johann Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff, the former prime minister and member of the Copenhagen aristocracy.[35] These faithful servants to the Crown represent the same kind of stability Burke saw in Britain's landowners, who in his eyes represented 'the people'. These moral and religious pillars of society were distinct from the group the report's author identified as 'the populace': members of the population at large. This distinction is evident in the description of the reactions in Denmark after the coup.[36] The report

32 'Favourite', in *Oxford English Dictionary.*

33 "Weak reigns are always the ages of favouritism; and odious as favourites are in general to mankind, they are seldom more so than they deserve: the weakness that makes them necessary can seldom distinguish in its choice; and the qualities which make them agreeable are not often those that are cultivated by the virtuous or wise." *The Annual Register*, p. 71.

34 Compare the quotation above to Burke's comments on the system of favouritism, as this was founded by Henry the third of France, and the dreadful consequences it produced. Burke, *Thoughts*, p. 75.

35 I have thematized the aristocracy in Copenhagen elsewhere. See Merethe Roos, *Enlightened Preaching. Balthasar Münter's Authorship 1772–1793* (Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, 2013).

36 See above, p. 85. There is, however, one passage in the text where the concept 'people' is used in an ambiguous context. The author describes the rumours of Struensee's and Brandt's concealed political motives with the expression 'these insinuations spread rapidly among the people'. Here the concept 'the people' may refer to a larger group of the population. What is clear, however, is that there is a pertinent distinction in the text between an elite group in the society and the population at large. This elite group deserves to wield political power and comes close to Burke's concept of 'the people' in his political text.

presupposes a distinction between a limited group that deserves to wield political power and the majority of the population, which does not.

The Queen Dowager Juliane Maria, a would-be monarch with unrestricted political powers, represents for the report's author the kind of constitutional system against which Burke argues in his *Thoughts*. The report depicts Juliane Maria in a negative light, as a sly and manipulative woman who pressured the King to sign an act that she knew Struensee and Brandt would denounce. However, the report also reflects a certain ambiguity about Juliane Maria, depicting her as a person with extraordinary virtue who has rescued the country from Struensee and his radical politics. This ambiguity reflects the double character of the article in *The Annual Register*. On one hand, it characteristically pleads for the restoration of stability and moral order (and portrays Juliane Maria as someone who saved Denmark from Struensee's immorality). On the other hand, the author associates Juliane Maria with the corruption of royal power.

The report also portrays the Queen Dowager's supporters in a negative light. This is the case, for example, with Balthasar Münter, a pastor in the German Saint Petri Church who became a spiritual advisor for Struensee.[37] The anonymous author mentions Münter's sermon on 24 January 1772, in which he celebrated the new government and praised Juliane Maria and Crown Prince Frederik.[38] According to the writer, this sermon, which was called *Dankpredigt über die dem Könige und seinem Völke erzeigte Hülfe Gottes,* lacks the Christian tenderness and charity expected from such an address and instead disgraces the Queen and ridicules the prisoners. In the most disrespectful way, it presents Struensee's rule as the reign of the Antichrist and the count's reforms as an affront to religion, morality, and law.

The commonalities between the article in *The Annual Register* and the views found in Burke's most recent work do much to characterize the leanings of both the piece's anonymous author and the periodical's targeted readers. The article on the Struensee affair in *The Annual Register* is a political text, directed towards an interested, increasingly literate, and enlightened readership. The text favours Denmark's political system as it was under the stewardship of Johann Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff: stable and governed by a well-respected statesman. The piece is too superficial to offer the modern historian

37 Münter achieved international fame for his book recounting Struensee's conversion to Christianity, *Bekehrungsgeschichte des vormahligen Graf Johann Friedrich Struensee* (1772). This book was translated into English, Swedish, Danish, French, and Dutch, and it appeared in several subsequent editions.

38 This sermon was also translated into Dutch.

an opportunity for an in-depth analysis of the relation between Struensee's politics and the author's political ideas. It is also impossible to know whether the writer was aware of Struensee's sympathy for French writers like Helvetius and de la Mettrie, or if the accusations that Struensee was a slave to French political ideas are presented on a more general basis. Nevertheless, the writer of the article in *The Annual Register* preferred the moderate politics of Bernstorff to the radical ideas practiced by Struensee and his men.

Town and Country Magazine

Town and Country Magazine, or Universal Repository of Knowledge counted among those magazines that brought gossip and celebrity culture to the reading public in Britain. Not surprisingly, the report on the events in Copenhagen that appeared in *Town and Country Magazine* differed strikingly from the one presented in *The Annual Register*. The piece appeared in the fourth volume of the journal's annual compilation (the magazine was initially published monthly) and bore this provocative title: *Memoirs of the Counts Struensee and De Brandt, lately butchered by the Sentence of an iniquitous Tribunal, wholly influenced by the Brunchault of the North.*

Edited by Archibald Hamilton, *Town and Country Magazine* circulated between 1769 and 1796. In the 1771 edition, it sold 12,000 copies monthly, far more than any similar publication at the time. The magazine specialized in covering scandals and affairs between members of the upper classes; its trademarks were celebrity sexual exposés and transcripts from adultery trials.[39] This latter category of texts was regarded as a form of 'soft-core' pornography that proved wildly popular with a broad spectrum of readers.[40] The magazine's writers had much in common with Robert Darnton's 'Grub Street' hack writers: they were correspondents who made the rounds of coffee houses and walked the streets gathering gossip, anecdotes, and amusing stories to sell to editors and printers.[41] However, the contributors were also sometimes ordi-

39 *Town and Country Magazine* is mentioned in the opening scene of Richard Sheridan's play *The School for Scandal* (1777). In January 1777, the subject of the journal's infamous and notorious tête-á-tête article had been Maria Abingdon, who played the role of *Lady Teazle*. See Christian Deelman, 'The Original Cast of The School for Scandal', *The Review of English Studies. New Series*, 13.51 (Aug., 1962), pp. 257–66.

40 Matthew J. Kinservik, *Sex, Scandal, and Celebrity in Late Eighteenth Century England* (Gordonsville, PA, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 25.

41 See for instance Robert Darnton, 'The Literary Revolution of 1789', *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 21 (1992), pp. 3–26, and Darnton (1995).

nary readers, authors, or politicians.[42] These correspondents, who were unnamed, are duly acknowledged in the opening section of each of the annual volumes.[43] *Town and Country Magazine* enjoyed a reputation as a provocative publication: in the introduction to the 1772 edition, the editors went so far as to defend themselves before their readers, appealing to freedom of the press.[44] This freedom had increased greatly in Britain in the eighteenth century.

The article on the Struensee Affair in *Town and Country Magazine* is written in a narrative mode, and the writer seems more concerned with Struensee's and Brandt's personal characteristics than with a critical analysis of their politics. He makes no attempt to contextualize or analyse the events in Copenhagen. Instead he comments on Struensee's 'well-proportioned size', his 'gracious and open countenance', and his 'easy, affable, and winning deportment'. He offers similar descriptions of Brandt. The writer shows little concern for the truthfulness of what he presents: in fact, the article contains several historical inaccuracies. For instance, in reporting that Johann Friedrich Struensee was born in 1731, the article misses the mark by four years. The report also indicates that Struensee's knowledge of English recommended him to esteem of the British-born Caroline Mathilda. The views on sexuality expressed in the piece are liberal: with no trace of shock over the affair between the young queen and Struensee, the author explains their attraction to one another as an expression of innocent freedom and affability rather than an immoral act.[45] This liberal attitude extends to other matters as well. The author characterizes Altona, where Struensee settled as a young man, as a place "where all religions are

42 Robert Darnton, 'It happened One Night', *The New York Review of Books*, 51.11 (24 June 2004). Accessible via Internet http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2004/jun/24/it-happened-one-night/ (accessed 16.7.2013).

43 The correspondents are addressed either by initials or by incomplete names (for example 'Mrs B-ley'). In the correspondent's list, it is sometimes possible to track the origin of the gossip, like 'The Hints from Grosvenor Square'. See *Town and Country Magazine, or Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment. Vol.* IV, *for the year 1772*. (London, 1772), p. 2.

44 "To those who seem to be hurt at the freedom of our pens, we reply that the Liberty of the Press is an object with which the right of Englishmen are so intimately connected, that its advantages cannot be too frequently insisted upon, nor forcibly inculcated, in order to arm us against innovation, and kindle our jealousy at the shadow of a depredation on this darling Bulwark." *Town and Country Magazine* 1772, p. 3.

45 "His knowledge as such, and his prepossession in favour of the English, recommended him to the esteem and confidence of a young unguarded princess, who could not suspect an innocent freedom could be interpreted as a crime, and affability misrepresented as an indecent familiarity." *Town and Country Magazine* 1772, p. 246.

tolerated, and all nations freely admitted," and therefore "[the] most eligible place to settle for a man of unprejudiced principles and liberal notions."

The article devotes a great deal of attention to Struensee's relationships with women (including, but not limited to, Caroline Mathilda).[46] The piece attributes much of Struensee's failure as a political leader to his rejection of Juliane Maria, who is repeatedly mentioned as a rival to Caroline Mathilda. Another focus of the article is its portrayal of both Struensee and Brandt as heroes. Struensee emerges as a state leader whose edicts benefitted the Danes. According to the author, his actions would rescue Struensee's name from infamy and earn him a reputation as a friend to men. The language used in the article appears calculated to awaken sympathy in the magazine's readers. In the account of the counts' imprisonment and final fate, he writes, "Ever since count Struensee was arrested, during his cruel captivity, his terrifying interrogations, his dreadful tortures, and even upon the scaffold, he has shewn a manly fortitude, and an unshaken resolution: he seemed more concerned for the fate of his friend, Count de Brandt, than for his own." Brandt, for his part, "preserved his cheerfulness and spirit", although he was "exposed to the outrages of a deluded mob, loaded with chains, barbarously tortured", and "interrogated with acrimony".[47]

Town and Country Magazine thus proves to have been another periodical altogether than *The Annual Register*. The description of Caroline Mathilda and her role in the Struensee Affair makes the difference especially clear. While the *Town and Country Magazine* focuses on justifying her sexual affair with Struensee, *The Annual Register* gives her a political role: she is described as an unfortunate queen, who—as a foreigner—was probably not amendable to the laws of Denmark. After the coup, the commission tried her and sent her into exile in Zelle, Germany, where she lived until her death in 1775. But according to the writer in *The Annual Register*, it is questionable whether it was legitimate for subjects to try their sovereign before the law. The text emphasises also the fate of the British-born queen as an incident which should be able to bring clarity to the Danish people: "It was however to be expected", says the writer, "that the crisis to which affairs were brought by the late revolution, and the disgrace which the reigning queen met with, must have brought on an *eclaircissement*, which would have gratified the curiosity of the public with a real state of facts, however satisfied they may be as to their justice or propriety."[48] This expectation of enlightenment amongst the inhabitants in Denmark is

46 The text also mentions Struensee's 'amours with a German lady'.

47 *Town and Country Magazine* 1772, p. 247.

48 *The Annual Register*, p. 71.

explicitly connected to the Queen's close relation to the throne of Britain.[49] In this regard, *The Annual Register* uses the incidents in Denmark to form a patriotic discourse among its readers: The British political system, and whatever is British, is best and should be preferred, and Britain should be regarded as an ideal for all other countries. This national consciousness which obviously is a fact in *Annual Register* is never in question in *Town and Country Magazine*.

Concluding Remarks

Through providing the readers with completely different pictures of the Struensee Affair, *Annual Register* and *Town and Country Magazine* depict different aspects of the Enlightenment in Britain. This demonstrates a complexity typical for the time. On one hand, Britain is a stable society aiming for high moral standards. On the other, the British public sphere shows a growing fascination with the illicit, the sleazy, and the sordid. *The Annual Register* is a serious and deliberating magazine whose portrait of Struensee as a radical political rebel serves as cautionary tale and upholds the more conservative enlightenment tendencies in Britain. *Town and Country Magazine* delivers rumours and inaccurate assumptions to its targeted readers. The eighteenth century British press culture is not entirely dissimilar to that of the twenty-first century: it covers the range from tabloid magazines to serious periodicals that feature deliberation and debate.

49 "It was indeed to be thought that the near relation which the unfortunate Queen bore to the throne of Great Britain would, in justice to her character and honour, have occasioned such an explanation's being insisted upon, as would have prevented her falling a sacrifice to the malice of a party, while the investigation of her conduct might have exposed their secret views in such a manner, as even to convince a misguided prince of their dangerous tendency." *The Annual Register,* p. 71.

CHAPTER 5

Transferring Propaganda: Gustavian Politics in Two Göttingen Journals

Mathias Persson

August Ludwig von Schlözer and the Swedish Realm

Eighteenth-century Sweden stood firmly integrated into a Baltic world that was essentially Lutheran in its religion and predominantly German in its cultural orientation. From the 1740s onward, the Hanoverian university town of Göttingen occupied a key position within the Swedish–German interchange, which was enacted through networks based on common interests and preferences as well as on mutually exchanged gifts and services. These networks received support from the extensive exchanges between the two countries—exchanges involving travellers, letters, consignments, and also publications such as the prominent review journal *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, the foremost mouthpiece of Göttingen's Georg August University, whose contributors overall represented Sweden and Swedish scholars in a positive manner.[1]

Noteworthy among the many vital journalistic instances of this Swedish–Hanoverian interface was the extensive reporting on Sweden in the widely read journals of the Göttingen professor August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735–1809): *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts* (1776–1782) and *Stats-Anzeigen* (1782–1793).[2] Schlözer was a pivotal figure in transnational networks as well as a renowned publicist who for several decades assiduously

1 For the importance of Göttingen for Sweden, see Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria* (4 vols., Stockholm, Norstedt, 1978–81), III, p. 47. For the Hanoverian–Swedish networks and their mechanisms, see Mathias Persson, *Det nära främmande. Svensk lärdom och politik i en tysk tidning, 1753–1792* (Uppsala, University of Uppsala, 2009), pp. 55–69. For the representations of Sweden in *Göttingische Anzeigen*, see Mathias Persson, 'The Utility of the "Other": German Representations of Sweden in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', *European History Quarterly*, 43.4 (2013), pp. 603–627.

2 On the diffusion of these journals, see Martin Peters, *Altes Reich und Europa. Der Historiker, Statistiker und Publizist August Ludwig (v.) Schlözer (1735–1809)* (Münster, LIT, 2003), pp. 220–221, 223, 231. *Stats-Anzeigen* was, as a matter of fact, the successor of *Briefwechsel*. See Peters, *Altes Reich*, p. 218.

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conveyed tidings from the northern kingdom.[3] In contrast to Schlözer's earlier publications regarding Sweden, such as the review journal *Neuesten Geschichte der Gelehrsamkeit in Schweden* (1756), *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen* constituted long-running publication projects and displayed a marked penchant for politics. But these periodicals presented Schlözer's readership with conflicting narratives about the political situation in the Swedish realm: they reproduced royal and royalist as well as noble and anti-royalist propaganda.[4]

The aim of the present chapter is to investigate *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen* for the purpose of revealing how Schlözer used Sweden as a projection space for his own compounded ideological convictions. *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, whose corpus of reviewers included the vast majority of Göttingen's professors, tended to portray the northern state as "a proximate other and a distant well-known, vaguely and porously demarcated from the domestic self".[5] Schlözer concurred in this view and on its basis projected his own beliefs onto the Swedish kingdom. By extension, this analysis will illuminate the position and ramifications of politics in the transnational public sphere Schlözer's journals helped to establish and maintain.

To be sure, Schlözer generally functioned as an intermediary or 'archivist' of existing data and documents, which he claimed to render in a neutral fashion. The relayed information—encapsulated in letters, orations, protocols, and historical sources—involved a broad range of topics and was derived from a wide

3 On Schlözer's exceptional journalistic standing in the Holy Roman Empire, see Peters, *Altes Reich*, p. 445. On his Swedish connections, see Christian Callmer, 'Svenska studenter i Göttingen under 1700-talet', *Lychnos* 1956, pp. 7, 10; Karin Johannisson, *Det mätbara samhället. Statistik och samhällsdröm i 1700-talets Europa* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1988), p. 71; Bernd Warlich, *August Ludwig von Schlözer 1735–1809 zwischen Reform und Revolution. Ein Beitrag zur Pathogenese frühliberalen Staatsdenkens im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen-Nürnberg, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, 1972), pp. 47–48. For his reporting on Sweden, see Sverker Sörlin, *De lärdas republik. Om vetenskapens internationella tendenser* (Malmö, Liber-Hermod, 1994), pp. 106–107; Krister Östlund, *Johan Ihre on the Origins and History of the Runes. Three Latin Dissertations from the Mid 18th Century Edited with Translation and Commentary by Krister Östlund* (Uppsala, University of Uppsala, 2000), p. 25; Peters, *Altes Reich*, pp. 218–219.

4 Propaganda can be defined as "the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist". See Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (3rd ed., Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 1999; 1st ed., 1986), p. 6. Compare Oliver Thomson, *Easily Led. A History of Propaganda* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1999), p. 5; Silvia Mazura, *Die preussische und österreichische Kriegspropaganda im Ersten und Zweiten Schlesischen Krieg* (Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1996), p. 15.

5 Persson, 'The Utility of the "Other"', pp. 604, 618–619.

array of European correspondents.[6] Nevertheless, the selections Schlözer made speak volumes about his preferences and in effect amounted to an incessant, politically and ideologically charged process, which crystallized in a bundle of recurrent propensities and themes. Furthermore, Schlözer at points commented on the reprinted texts in short prefaces or footnotes, where he voiced his own feelings about and opinions of their contents. Not unlike the two English journals studied in Merethe Roos' chapter in this present volume, *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen* are consequently well suited for an in-depth exploration of how the political motifs of one early modern European country could be translated to another within the framework of the republic of letters.

This is not the place for a comprehensive account of Schlözer's life and worldview or of the history of late eighteenth-century Sweden, which previous research has covered extensively.[7] However, a few remarks on both subjects are necessary in order to contextualize what the Hanoverian journals published about the Swedish realm. Born in Gaggstadt in the county of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, Schlözer studied in Wittenberg and Göttingen, where he was awarded an ordinary professorship in 1769 after protracted stays in Sweden and Russia. Although history and constitutional law, especially the study of political systems, were his principal scholarly interests, Schlözer's academic activity exhibited an interdisciplinary and international flavour consistent with the polyhistor ideal of his time.[8]

It should be noted that Schlözer possessed intimate knowledge of Sweden, where he resided from 1755 to 1758. While there, Schlözer tutored the children of the primary pastor in Stockholm's German Congregation and taught German and studied at the University of Uppsala.[9] The sojourn elicited a political

6 Peters, *Altes Reich*, p. 222; Ulrich Muhlack, 'Der Vermittler der Welt. Ein Zugang zum Verständnis der "ganzen" Schlözer', in Heinz Duchhardt and Martin Espenhorst (eds.), *August Ludwig (von) Schlözer in Europa* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), pp. 11–14.

7 For Schlözer, see Peters, *Altes Reich*; Duchhardt and Espenhorst (eds.), *August Ludwig (von) Schlözer*; Werner Hennies, *Die politische Theorie August Ludwig von Schlözers zwischen Aufklärung und Liberalismus* (Munich, Tuduv, 1985); Warlich, *August Ludwig von Schlözer*. For the history of late eighteenth-century Sweden, see Mikael Alm, *Kungsord i elfte timmen. Språk och självbild i det gustavianska enväldets legitimitetskamp 1772–1809* (Stockholm, Atlantis, 2002); Henrika Tandefelt, *Konsten att härska. Gustaf III inför sina undersåtar* (Helsingfors, Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2008); Erik Lönnroth, *Den stora rollen. Kung Gustaf III spelad av honom själv* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1986); Annie Mattsson, *Komediant och riksförrädare. Handskriftcirkulerade smädeskrifter mot Gustaf III* (Uppsala, University of Uppsala, 2010).

8 Peters, *Altes Reich*, pp. 3, 18, 35; Muhlack, 'Der Vermittler', pp. 15, 17.

9 Tore Gjötterberg, *Tyskt 1700-tal. Kulturhistoriska bilder från tyska furstehov och universitet samt deras svenska förbindelser* (Stockholm, Carlsson, 1996), p. 184.

interest in Schlözer, who later advocated the creation of a Russian national registration in keeping with the Swedish model and devoted himself to the balance of power in the North ('Norden'), a subject to which he dedicated a detailed scholarly treatment in German.[10]

Politically, Schlözer has been depicted as an early liberal and a democrat as well as a proto-conservative and a monarchist. Without delving too deeply into this intricate and thorny issue, it is safe to say that Schlözer took different stances throughout his career and that his views were neither altogether coherent nor universalistic in scope, but rather constituted responses to specific circumstances. It is thus reasonable to ascribe to Schlözer both 'liberal' and 'conservative' ideas.[11] Naturally, the same goes for his journals, which did not adhere to a political program and were designed to publicize differing takes on eighteenth-century Europe.[12]

Even so, Schlözer was not an unprejudiced news provider; quite the contrary, *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen* in many ways bore testimony to his attitudes and beliefs, which were steeped in the social and political order of the day and accordingly displayed a distinctly non-radical quality.[13] In Schlözer,

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10 Schlözer's political interest is discussed in Horst Kern, 'Schlözers Bedeutung für die Methodologie der empirischen Sozialforschung', in Hans-Georg Herrlitz and Horst Kern (eds.), *Anfänge Göttinger Sozialwissenschaft. Methoden, Inhalte und soziale Prozesse im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), pp. 59–60; Peters, *Altes Reich*, p. 43. For his studies in Uppsala, see Östlund, *Johan Ihre*, p. 25. For Schlözer's idea of a national registration in Russia, see *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* 1768, p. 539. More detailed accounts of his stay in Sweden can be found in Peters, *Altes Reich*, pp. 40–41, 43–46, 52–53; Hennies, *Die politische Theorie*, pp. 18–21. For Schlözer's preoccupation with the North, see Hendriette Kliemann, *Koordinaten des Nordens. Wissenschaftliche Konstruktionen einer europäischen Region 1770–1850* (Berlin, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), pp. 51, 105.

11 Peters, *Altes Reich*, pp. 18–21. Compare Merio Scattola, 'August Ludwig Schlözer und die Staatswissenschaften des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Duchhardt & Espenhorst (eds.), *August Ludwig (von) Schlözer*, p. 110; Wolfgang Burgdorf, 'August Ludwig Schlözers Vorstellungen von der Verfassung des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation', in Duchhardt and Espenhorst (eds.), *August Ludwig (von) Schlözer*, p. 115.

12 Peters, *Altes Reich*, p. 222; Muhlack, 'Der Vermittler', p. 12.

13 For examples of Schlözer's standpoints, see Luigi Marino, *Praeceptores Germaniae. Göttingen 1770–1820* (1975), German translation (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), pp. 370–371, 381–382, 390–391; Muhlack, 'Der Vermittler', pp. 19–20; Scattola, 'August Ludwig Schlözer', pp. 106–10; Burgdorf, 'August Ludwig Schlözer', pp. 112–113. For a concise summary of Schlözer's world-view, see Peters, *Altes Reich*, chapter 12, 'Schlußbetrachtung'.

> a political realism that recognized the resilience of institutions and traditional social structures went hand in in hand with a kind of natural law, which only acted as a corrective in the gravest and most pathological cases and neither questioned the principle of the absolutist constitution, nor ever intended to do so.... The respective political authorities in their historically grown form always remained the starting point of Schlözer's understanding of the state.[14]

Albeit complex, Schlözer's political conceptions were firmly moored in his own middling social stratum, which necessarily operated within the enduring system of absolutism.[15] Against this background, it can be argued that Schlözer was a fairly typical exponent of what Jonathan Knudsen has referred to as an 'estate enlightenment' (*ständische Aufklärung*), a German mode of thought epitomized by a Christian, cameralist, and paternalistic outlook as well as by a far-reaching compromise between the men of letters and the powers that be.[16] Other historians have identified similar, but more geographically wide-ranging, enlightenment varieties. Lisbet Rausing (previously Koerner) has talked about a 'Baltic Enlightenment', characterized by utilitarianism and Lutheranism and disseminated by *literati* closely aligned with the authorities, while Knut Ove Eliassen has made a case for the existence of a 'Northern Enlightenment' distinguished by Lutheranism, state-serving scholarship, and an anti-radical or 'conservative' bias.[17]

Obviously, Knudsen, Rausing, and Eliassen's expositions derive from a common source, a pervasive eighteenth-century climate of thought that reflected the social and political pressures of the erudite condition in the Holy Roman Empire and Scandinavia alike. It is important to recognize that 'Northern' intellectuals like Schlözer, precursors of a liberal position as some of them might have been, did not transcend their political and social environments any more than their writings or ideas did. To take Schlözer's academic abode as an

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14 Marino, *Praeceptores Germaniae*, pp. 370–371.

15 Marino, *Praeceptores Germaniae*, p. 370.

16 Jonathan B. Knudsen, *Justus Möser and the German Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 4, 8, 11–13. Compare Joachim Whaley, 'The Protestant Enlightenment in Germany', in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 108–113, 116–117.

17 Lisbet Koerner, '*Daedalus Hyperboreus*. Baltic Natural History and Mineralogy in the Enlightenment', in William Clark et al. (eds.), *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 389; Knut Ove Eliassen, 'Introduction', in Håkon With Andersen et al. (eds.), *Aemula Lauri. The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters, 1760–2010* (Sagamore Beach, Science History Publications, 2009), pp. x–xii.

example, the central institutions of the Georg August University formed a symbiotic relationship with the authorities, while its teachers tended to agree with the prevailing order and entertain close ties with the government. Schlözer himself had an ally and protector in the powerful privy councillor (*Geheimerat*) Georg Friedrich Brandes, who along with his colleagues on Hanover's ruling body received complimentary copies of *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen*.[18] Not surprisingly, then—and as Schlözer was acutely aware—the freedom enjoyed by the Hanoverian press was a frail edifice built on concessions and silence, a limited and seldom-utilized favour granted from above.[19]

Some annotations concerning eighteenth-century Sweden put Schlözer's reporting in perspective. The death of the monocratic warrior King Carl XII in 1718 and Sweden's subsequent loss in the Great Northern War (1700–1721) left the kingdom bereft of the great-power status it had acquired through the Peace of Westphalia. During the ensuing so-called Age of Liberty, ultimate power came to rest with the Diet, mainly with the noble estate of the realm. Two loose-knit parties, the Hats and the Caps, vied for influence until a severe economic and political crisis paved the way for a coup by Gustav III (1746–1792) in 1772.[20]

The king enjoyed an initial period of widespread support but faced increasing dissent as his rule grew more authoritarian and repressive, especially concerning freedom of the press. Two crucial occurrences in the late 1780s seriously aggravated the antagonism between the regime and its critics. The first was an arbitrary and eventually futile war of aggression against Russia (1788–1790), designed to reassert Sweden's authority in the East and to immortalize Gustav

18 In addition, several of Schlözer's correspondents were Hanoverian officials. See Marino, *Praeceptores Germaniae*, pp. 51–52, p. 57, 369; Wolfgang Sellert, 'Rechtswissenschaft und Hochschulpolitik. Münchhausen und die Juristische Fakultät', in Jürgen von Stackelberg (ed.), *Zur geistigen Situation der Zeit der Göttinger Universitätsgründung 1737. Eine Vortragsreihe aus Anlaß des 250jährigen Bestehens der Georgia Augusta* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 81–82; Peters, *Altes Reich*, pp. 226, 231.

19 Marino, *Praeceptores Germaniae*, pp. 49–52, 369; August Ludwig von Schlözer, 'Allgemeiner Vorbericht', *Stats-anzeigen gesammelt und zum Druck befördert von August Ludwig Schlözer…Erster Band, Heft 1–4* (1782), pages unnumbered. See also Martin Gierl and Franz Pröfener, 'Der "Bürger" und die "Klapperschlange". Die Göttinger Pressegeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur preußischen Zeit', in Ernst Böhme et al. (eds.), *Göttingen. Geschichte einer Universitätsstadt* (3 vols., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987–2002), II. pp. 994, 996, 1002; Sellert, 'Rechtswissenschaft', p. 81; Ulrich Hunger, 'Die Georgia Augusta als hannoversche Landesuniversität. Von ihrer Gründung bis zum Ende des Königreichs', in Böhme et al. (eds.), *Göttingen*, pp. 148–150.

20 For a concise overview of the Age of Liberty, see Michael Roberts, *The Age of Liberty. Sweden, 1719–1772* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986).

as a patriotic hero. The second and more fateful event was the Union and Security Act in 1789, whose provisions drastically enhanced the powers of the monarch. Since the act met with vigorous opposition from the nobility, which conceived it as a decisive move towards despotism, Gustav got it passed with the help of the three lower estates (the peasants, the burghers, and the clergy) in return for introducing leveling policies. The developments surrounding the Union and Security Act incited a strong hatred of the king in many quarters and prompted his assassination by a group of radicalized noblemen in 1792.

It is well known that Gustav III fully appreciated the value of propaganda and took care to disseminate a positive image of his regime both at home and abroad.[21] Gustav cultivated a public image of himself that was built upon the contrast between the 'true' liberty of his rule and the 'false' freedom of the Age of Liberty, which he branded as an era of self-interest, conflict, insecurity, and lawlessness. The constructive features of this royal propaganda effort revolved around a set of interrelated value concepts upon which the first portion of this analysis focuses: liberty, security, solicitude, and concord.[22] The following sections deal with three dominant clusters of propaganda-infused representations, pertaining to the Russian War, the Union and Security Act, and the regicide, respectively, while the final section of the chapter consists of a discussion of its findings.

The Good King: Royal Apologetics

Schlözer's journals *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen* comprise four overarching political themes relating to Sweden and its sovereign. The first theme is most clearly expressed in the accounts Gustav III imparted to the Diet and Schlözer published under the heading 'Authentic State Chronicle of Sweden'. These texts displayed an elaborate royal propaganda, which usually but not always stemmed from the king himself. They emphasized the monarch's merits—his patriotism, gentleness, righteousness, grace, wisdom, greatness, and divine support, as well as his arduous efforts for the common good and his fatherly caring for his loyal subjects. They also contrasted the order, liberty, security, law-abidingness, and concord after Gustav's coup d'état in 1772 with the abuse,

21 Alm, *Kungsord*, p. 53; Tandefelt, *Konsten*, p. 16; Magnus Nyman, *Press mot friheten. Opinionsbildning i de svenska tidningarna och åsiktsbrytningar om minoriteter 1772–1786* (Uppsala, University of Uppsala, 1988), pp. 91–92. See also Erling Sandmo's analysis of the relation between opera and power in the rule of Gustav III in this present volume.

22 On the way Gustav fashioned himself and his rule, see Alm, *Kungsord*; Tandefelt, *Konsten*.

disorder, insecurity, discord, and 'lawless freedom' of the Age of Liberty.[23] The state chronicles amounted to veritable catalogues of the multifaceted progress that had resulted from the royal seizure of power: that progress included improving the infrastructure, the economy, the armed forces, and medical institutions; abolishing torture; and promoting religion, erudition, and science.[24]

The king blatantly attributed the problems afflicting the Swedish kingdom to the former power-holders, the estates and the parties:

> And even though not everything has turned out as I [Gustav] have wished it to—if much is still backwards—I expect from the devotion of my loyal subjects that they keep in mind how many great shortcomings manifested themselves, what a weak position the realm was in when I came to power, and for how short a time I have ruled.[25]

The Age of Liberty continued to function as a conjunctive other long after it had ceased to be a political reality. As late as 1789, one of the reprinted writings asserted that Gustav was forced to destroy "this devastating hydra lernaea",

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23 Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik von Schweden vom Aug. 1772 bis Oktob. 1778', *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts. Vierter Theil, Heft XIX–XXIV* (1779), pp. 230, 233–235, 239, 261, 266, 271; Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik von Schweden, vom J. 1779–1786', *Stats-anzeigen…Elfter Band, Heft 41–44* (1787), pp. 415–417, 419–422, 424, 427, 430, quote on p. 427; Gustav III, 'Neueste Verbesserungen in Schwedens Handel und Schiffart, Fischerei, Land- und BergBau, Stadt- und DorfPolizei (eine Fortsetzung von der authentischen StatsChronik von Schweden vom J. 1776–1786…)', *Stats-anzeigen…Zwölfter Band, Heft 45–48* (1788), pp. 93, 96, 104, 109–110; Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik von Schweden, vom J. 1779–1786 (Schluß von oben…)', *Stats-anzeigen…Zwölfter Band, Heft 45–48* (1788), pp. 321, 323–324, 327, 329, 333, 337. See also 'Gyllenswahn, Hamilton, und Toll', *Briefwechsel…Fünfter Theil, Heft XXV–XXX* (1779), pp. 134–135; Gustav III, 'Gustafs III Gedanken über die Preßfreiheit. Aus dessen *Dictamen ad Protocollum* im RathsSale, 26 April 1774', *Briefwechsel…Siebender Theil, Heft XXXVII–XLII* (1780), pp. 58–59; 'Gegen die Insurrection der schwed. Armee in Finnland', *Stats-anzeigen…Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), pp. 15–16; 'Aus dem Protocoll des BürgerStandes auf jetzigem ReichsTage in Stockholm, im Febr. 1789', *Stats-anzeigen…Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), pp. 99, 101, 103; 'Schwedische Sicherheits-Acte', *Stats-anzeigen…Vierzehnter Band, Heft 53–56* (1790), pp. 267–276, 278.

24 Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1779), passim; Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1787), passim; Gustav III, 'Neueste Verbesserungen', passim; Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1788), passim.

25 Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1779), p. 271; 'Gyllenswahn', p. 135, compare Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1787), p. 427.

while another argued that 1772 should be hailed as a new year zero for the Swedish nation and that the king's coup d'état (which was described as a 'revolution') put an end to inner strife and reinstated peace and glory. Although signs indicate that Schlözer tried to disassociate himself from the remarks in the latter text, for instance by noting that the piece's author remained anonymous, Schlözer nevertheless presented his readership with this hyperbolic contrast between the Age of Liberty and the birth of the Gustavian regime.[26] The longevity of royal propaganda that used the Age of Liberty as a bugbear had a likely cause in the mounting domestic tensions that marked the second half of Gustav's reign and culminated in the Union and Security Act in 1789. The fact that the royal propaganda highlighted contemporaneous strains between the regime and its critics alongside the old polemic against the Age of Liberty lends credence to this interpretation.[27]

Two further key elements of royal propaganda during this era deserve mention here. The first is the way these royalist texts stressed the intimate relationship based upon love and trust between the king and his people.[28] Tellingly, not only Providence, but also the king's royal subjects emerge as Gustav's means of overcoming the dissonances of the preceding period.[29] According to the royal propaganda, the Swedes' love for their sovereign and fatherland sparked their bellicose accomplishments during the Russian War of 1788–1790,

> and the king, who in this great enthusiasm found thousands of conquests, which were more gratifying to his heart, more sought after during his rule, than the bloody tokens of victory in war, sacrificed himself, greater for his victory over Swedish hearts than for his triumph over the enemies of the realm.[30]

The second element of this propaganda is that it portrayed Gustav as a king with a sensitive ear. According to this propagandistic vein, the monarch

26 'Gegen die Insurrection', pp. 15–16; 'Rede gehalten in Finnland am GeburtsTag des Königs von Schweden, 24 Jan. 1789', *Stats-anzeigen…Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), p. 130.

27 'Schwedische Sicherheits-Acte', pp. 266–267, 270–271.

28 Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1779), pp. 236, 252, 265–266, 271; Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1787), pp. 419, 421; Gustav III, 'Neueste Verbesserungen', p. 104. See also 'Aus dem Protocoll', p. 99; 'Gedanken eines Schweden über den letzteren russisch-schwedischen Krieg', *Stats-anzeigen…Sechszehnter Band, Heft 61–64* (1791), pp. 45, 50; Gustav III, 'Königl. schwedische Verordnung vom 10 Jan. über die CreditZettel', *Stats-anzeigen…Sechszehnter Band, Heft 61–64* (1791), pp. 52, 54.

29 Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1779), p. 234.

30 'Rede', pp. 132–133.

protected freedom of speech and freedom of the press because they allowed him to understand the populace and its outlook.[31] Overall the king was represented as an emotional and emphatic ruler who heeded the viewpoints and grievances of the people, even using his personal funds to mitigate the effects of famine. When the queen dowager Lovisa Ulrika and infant prince Carl Gustav died, royalist propaganda had it that the mourning king scraped together his own money for their funerals to avoid incurring his loyal subjects' displeasure over new taxes.[32]

On the whole, Schlözer cast the Gustavian regime and its policies in a positive light. As the next two sections will reveal, however, there were notable exceptions to this rule.

The Belligerent King: Mixed Voices

The second overarching theme is Gustav III's war of aggression against Russia and the resulting reaction by the so-called Anjala League. The latter group of noble officers stationed in Finland opposed the king's bellicosity and, fearing severe reprisals from the enemy, initiated negotiations with Catherine II without approval from Stockholm. In their letter to the Russian tsarina, which Schlözer published, they portrayed Sweden's war against Russia as a violation of the rights of the Swedish nation. In spite of these charges, the letter was not particularly polemical and refrained from attacking the king himself: its authors contented themselves with vague allusions to a warmongering fraction ('disturbers of the peace' and 'some unruly heads').[33]

Catherine's reply to the conspirators was somewhat more critical towards Gustav than the Anjala League had been, while an anonymous text defending the insubordinate officers treated the Swedish government harshly; however,

31 'Gyllenswahn', pp. 130–132, 134; Gustav III, 'Gedanken über die Preßfreiheit', pp. 58–60; Gustav III, 'Stockholm, 6 Mai 1780', *Briefwechsel…Siebender Theil, Heft XXXVII–XLII* (1780), p. 149.

32 Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1779), p. 241; Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1787), pp. 420, 437–438; Gustav III, 'Neueste Verbesserungen', pp. 99, 103; Gustav III, 'Authentische StatsChronik' (1788), pp. 326–327, 331–332, 335–336. See also 'Protocoll, gehalten bei der Geburt des schwedischen Kronprinzen 1778', *Stats-anzeigen… Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), pp. 49–50; 'Aus dem Protocoll', pp. 101–102; 'Schwedische Sicherheits-Acte', p. 272.

33 Carl Gustaf Armfelt, 'Noch ungedruckte ActenStücke, die Insurgenten in Finnland betreffend', *Stats-anzeigen…Zwölfter Band, Heft 45–48* (1788), pp. 408–409.

like the Anjala League's letter, it fell short of calling out the monarch.[34] After the war, Schlözer printed the verdict against the leading Anjala men, but he also endowed them with a voice by publishing General Carl Gustaf Armfelt's statement in their defence. Taking care not to insult Gustav III, the general explained his course of action: he had no rebellious or nefarious intentions, but was motivated only by his concern for the well-being of the king and the *patria*. According to Armfelt, the Anjala officers had safeguarded the common good when the king had failed to do so.[35]

In addition to the account of the Anjala League's anti-war efforts, Schlözer published other texts that reflected negatively upon Gustav's foreign policy. The Göttingen professor also published a Danish text criticizing the Swedes and their king for their conduct towards Russia and Denmark, which was fighting on Catherine II's side.[36] However, these narratives did not go unchallenged, as they accompanied a significant amount of royal war propaganda. For example, Schlözer relayed Gustav's own justification of his declaration of war, in which the king maintained that while he detested armed conflict, Russia had violated international law and its peace treaties with Sweden. As a result, war was necessary to protect the Swedish realm and restore equilibrium in the North.[37] Another propaganda piece served as an apology for the Swedish navy, comparing it favourably to its Russian counterpart and downplaying the adversity it faced while underscoring the setbacks that the Russians had suffered.[38]

At times, the propagandistic motives behind the journal's content were quite overt, as in the case of an anonymous oration dedicated to Gustav III on

34 Armfelt, 'Noch ungedruckte ActenStücke', p. 411; 'Antwort eines finnischen Mitbürgers auf einen in den Hamburgischen Zeitungen eingerückten, und vorgeblich in Finnland geschriebenen Brief vom 14 Sept. 1788', *Stats-anzeigen…Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), pp. 25–34.

35 'Urteil…über den Gen. Maj. Armfeldt, die Obristen v. Otter und Hästesko, und den Obr. Lieut. Klingspor; gesprochen den 19 Apr. 1790', *Stats-anzeigen…Funfzehnter Band, Heft 57–60* (1790), pp. 116–125; Carl Gustaf Armfelt, 'Kurze Darstellung der inneren Unruhen bei der finnischen Armee, im J. 1788', *Stats-anzeigen…Funfzehnter Band, Heft 57–60* (1790), pp. 130, 141, 146–150, 154–155, 159, 175.

36 'Ueber den Schwedisch-Dänischen Krieg. Schleswig, 15 Dec. 1788', *Stats-anzeigen…Zwölfter Band, Heft 45–48* (1788), pp. 369–373.

37 'ActenStücke, die Kriege zwischen Rußland und Schweden, in den Jaren 1741 und 1788, betreffend', *Stats-anzeigen…Zwölfter Band, Heft 45–48* (1788), pp. 166–167. Gustav's justification of war was accompanied by a number of documents, where the Russian and Swedish regimes expressed their respective views of the conflict.

38 Fredrik Hierta, 'Journal über die SeeExpedition der Schwedische Flotte im J. 1788', *Stats-anzeigen…Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), pp. 7–10.

his birthday in 1789. The text proclaimed that the Russians inhabiting the former Swedish provinces to the east of Finland perceived him as a liberator and protective deity ('SchutzGott'), and that the Danish troops had fled as soon as the king arrived in their vicinity.[39] Another royalist piece took the form of a full-blown panegyric, 'A Swede's Thoughts on the Last Russian–Swedish War', which emphasizes Gustav's heroism, importance, and heavenly mandate. The text calls the military confrontation with Russia an honourable war and one of Sweden's most remarkable conflicts, and it compares Gustav's bold and intrepid spirit to that of the warrior king Carl XII. The piece notes how the Swedish triumph in the naval Battle of Svensksund served as a turning point in the war and was therefore the most valuable ever won by Sweden. The victory spread blessings upon the king and the loyal soldiers who stood him by.[40]

Even though Schlözer printed plenty of royal war propaganda and professed neutrality towards the Anjala League, whose champions he unflinchingly criticized in some respects, he was in fact neither impartial nor ill disposed towards their cause.[41] Instead, a closer examination makes it clear that Schlözer took a predominantly negative stance on the Gustavian war project. For example, in a footnote to 'A Swede's Thoughts on the Last Russian–Swedish War' Schlözer comments ironically that it was interesting to get acquainted with a native's views, although they came in the form of 'poetic prose'.[42] In a footnote to the Anjala League's letter to Catherine II, Schlözer mentioned that he had chosen not to publish the footnotes that the correspondent who sent the letter to him had attached to it, since they subjectively presumed "the culpability of the so-called rebels, with no proof for external readers, who expect no evidence [*Beweise*] until the impending parliamentary session".[43]

Similarly, in his comments to a text directed against the Anjala officers, Schlözer among other things pointed out that the piece had been produced "under the eyes of the king", that it could not, as was claimed, have been written in Finland, and that a number of noblemen had strongly objected to it at the Diet.[44]

Schlözer's coverage of the Russian War overall comes across as ambivalent and dualistic, whereas his own view on the matter was by all appearances more negative than the reporting in *Stats-Anzeigen* indicates. Schlözer appears to have generally disapproved of wars as instruments of power politics, although

39 'Rede', pp. 131–132.
40 'Gedanken eines Schweden', pp. 39–41, 43, 45–50, quote on 49.
41 For Schlözer's impartiality, see 'Gegen die Insurrection', p. 11, footnote.
42 'Gedanken eines Schweden', p. 39, footnote.
43 Armfelt, 'Noch ungedruckte ActenStücke', p. 408.
44 'Antwort', pp. 25–26, footnote 1.

he did indeed embrace some conflicts, for instance the anti-revolutionary wars of the 1790s.[45] As the following section will show, Schlözer the publicist and Schlözer the individual were a great deal more in sync in their opposition to the 'despotic' Union and Security Act.

The Tyrannical King: Noble Propaganda

The third theme Schlözer takes up is the Union and Security Act of 1789, which entailed a substantial expansion of royal power and was opposed by a large fraction of the nobility. Interestingly, the criticism that arose in response to the act and found its way into Schlözer's *Stats-Anzeigen* was firmly rooted in the regime propaganda of the previous two decades, probably as a result of an ambition to appease Gustav III and sway a public opinion steeped in royal propaganda. The noblemen opposing the Union and Security Act thus presented the 1772 coup in benevolent terms and tended to confirm the officially promulgated image of the monarch, employing royal value concepts such as law, security, liberty, and unity.[46] For example, Baron Christer Lindorm Posse said at the Diet, "I find many beautiful words in the proposed Security Act, but what [I] find missing are the most important things: law and liberty."[47] Simultaneously, the critics of the Union and Security Act used arguments against it that echoed Armfelt's polemics against the Russian War, since the alleged reasons for the nobility's resistance to the act were their feelings for king and fatherland as well as their pledge to uphold the constitution of 1772.[48] Consequently, the nobility safeguarded the true interests of Sweden and its ruler when Gustav failed to make the right decisions for his kingdom.

Unlike before, members of the nobility began to utter sharp words directed at the king: Posse and Count Adolf Ludvig Hamilton both indirectly accused Gustav of veering towards despotism.[49] Schlözer agreed with them in a foot-

45 Peters, *Altes Reich*, pp. 244–245.

46 Fabian Casimir Wrede, 'Project zu einer Rechtfertigung des schwedischen Adels auf dem ReichsTage 1789', *Stats-anzeigen…Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), pp. 165–167, 169–171, 179–180, 182; Charles Emil Lewenhaupt, 'Schwedische Acten gegen die sogenannte Sicherheits-Acte und die unbestimmte Bewilligung', *Stats-anzeigen…Dreizehnter Band, Heft 49–52* (1789), pp. 377, 383–384, 386–387; Adolf Ludvig Hamilton, 'Unbestimmte Bewilligung in Schweden. B. Dictamen ad Protocollum des CammerHerrn, Grafen Adolf Hamilton, 21 Apr. 1789', *Stats-anzeigen…Vierzehnter Band, Heft 53–56* (1790), pp. 287–288.

47 Lewenhaupt, 'Schwedische Acten', p. 381.

48 Lewenhaupt, 'Schwedische Acten', pp. 378–379. Cf. also p. 387; Wrede, 'Project', pp. 181–182.

49 Lewenhaupt, 'Schwedische Acten', p. 387; Hamilton, 'Unbestimmte Bewilligung', pp. 287–289.

note, where he highlighted the many declarations of the nobility at the Diet "in the struggle against the most horrible despotism, to its immortal honour, as well as to the immortal dishonour of its 3 fellow estates".[50] To be sure, the journal also presented the contentions of Gustav and his supporters—including the three lower estates of the realm, which affirmed the Union and Security Act.[51] Still, Schlözer gave noble propaganda a lot of leeway, and the anti-royalist voices outweighed the royalist ones in a way that was not true in the case of the Russian War, despite Schlözer's assertion that he was out to correct the lopsided reporting on the debate about the Union and Security Act.[52] Schlözer's ideal society was clearly a constitutional monarchy built on natural law: despotism (i.e. unbridled executive power) was an abomination.[53]

The Murdered King: Regicide and Revolution

His critical reporting on the Union and Security Act notwithstanding, Schlözer had no praise for Gustav III's assassins. The regicide received much attention in *Stats-Anzeigen*, which depicted the incident as a ghastly incident, horrific misdeed and devilish act. A footnote to a royal announcement printed in the journal noted that the document had been issued on 'the terrible day of the regicide'. Schlözer condemned the man guilty of firing the fatal shot, the former army captain Jacob Johan Anckarström, as a 'monster with the immortality of a Herostratus' and 'a stone-blind fanatic', while he chastised the assassins as the most cowardly and stupid revolutionaries of all time, since they failed to reflect upon the possibility that the king might not die immediately (as indeed he did not). One of the conspirators, Count Claes Fredrik Horn af Åminne, was said to deeply regret the moment "he was so neglectful of his honour and inhuman as to participate in this dreadful crime".[54]

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50 Lewenhaupt, 'Schwedische Acten', p. 386.

51 The Swedish Estates ('Schweden, Reichsstände'), 'Der sämmtlichen RStände Beschluß vom 24 Febr., und der 3 unadlichen Stände BeiAbschied vom 23 Febr., auf dem RTag in Gefle', *Stats-anzeigen…Siebenzehnter Band, Heft 65–68* (1792), pp. 477–480; 'Schwedische Sicherheits-Acte', pp. 266–279.

52 Hamilton, 'Unbestimmte Bewilligung', pp. 289–290, footnote.

53 Burgdorf, 'August Ludwig Schlözer', p. 112; Marino, *Praeceptores Germaniae*, pp. 368–369, 373.

54 Gustav III, 'Schwedische Assignate: kgl. Verordnung vom 16 März 1792', *Stats-anzeigen… Siebenzehnter Band, Heft 65–68* (1792), p. 388; August Ludwig von Schlözer (translator), 'Schwedische KönigsMörder und Revolutionsmacher, aus Acten', *Stats-anzeigen… Siebenzehnter Band, Heft 65–68* (1792), pp. 393–394, 432, 443. For Schlözer's coverage of the

At the same time, Schlözer remained critical of the king and put part of the blame on him:

> Has ever a king, since Anno Domini 700, 'stuartized' ['stuartisirt'] more than Gustav III in Sweden? And did the unfortunate man not…know his people? Did he not know that no people in Europe, not even the British, have been less suited for stuartizing ['das Stuartisiren'] over the last 1000 years than the Swedish people? Did not Josef II's fate, and even more Louis XVI's, make him cautious?[55]

There were, in fact, distinct parallels between Schlözer's treatments of Gustav III and Louis XVI. Schlözer characterizes both the Swedish king and the French monarch as tyrants and describes Gustav's murder and Louis's execution alike as abhorrent events, although in his view the French regicide was even worse than the Swedish one.[56]

Even after Gustav's assassination, royal propaganda continued to appear in *Stats-Anzeigen*. As before, the journal published pieces that painted the Age of Liberty in dark colours and celebrated the king's accomplishments. The familiar, propagandistic portrayals of Gustav persisted, not least those framing him as a dedicated promoter of the common good and a beloved and loving father of his people. What is more, the journal depicted the king as a war hero and an ardent peacemaker, and it stressed the accord and immediate connection between him and the three lower estates of the realm, whose delegates at the Diet had embraced the Union and Security Act.[57] These posthumous images of Gustav might signify Schlözer's inclination to make amends for his prior representations of the Russian War and the Union and Security Act; at the very least,

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regicide, see also August Ludwig von Schlözer (translator), 'Verabschiedeter Capit. Ankarström, vom 17, 18 März, und 3 Apr. samt dem Gange der ganzen Untersuchung vom 17 März bis 3 Apr. nach der Zeitfolge', *Stats-anzeigen…Siebenzehnter Band, Heft 65–68* (1792), pp. 493–524; August Ludwig von Schlözer (translator), 'Schwedische Königs-Mörder', *Stats-anzeigen…Achtzehnter Band, Heft 69–72* (1793), pp. 129–166; August Ludwig von Schlözer (translator), 'Bekänntnisse des Secret. Joh. von Engeström', *Stats-anzeigen…Achtzehnter Band, Heft 69–72* (1793), pp. 173–197; August Ludwig von Schlözer (translator), 'Läugnungen des 72 järigen Gen. Maj. Pechlin', *Stats-anzeigen…Achtzehnter Band, Heft 69–72* (1793), pp. 216–248.

55 Schlözer, 'Schwedische KönigsMörder und Revolutionsmacher', p. 394.

56 'Schwedische Sicherheits-Acte', p. 276, footnote; Schlözer, 'Läugnungen', p. 248.

57 The Swedish Estates, 'Der sämmtlichen RStände Beschluß', pp. 471–476, 480; Gustav III, 'Testamente, vom 19 Mai 1780, und 1 Jun. 1789', *Stats-anzeigen…Siebenzehnter Band, Heft 65–68* (1792), pp. 481–482, 485–490.

the Swedish king's violent death made further criticism of his reign inappropriate and, in light of the French Revolution, potentially dangerous.

Concluding Remarks: Despotism and 'Aristocracy'

Schlözer printed numerous negative views of Gustav III and criticized the king's rule in various commentaries. In line with public opinion throughout the Swedish realm, his own conception of the king grew more unfavourable towards the end of Gustav's reign, when controversial issues—the Russian War and the Union and Security Act—dominated the political scene in Sweden and provoked allegations of despotism.

Yet the images of the king appearing in Schlözer's journals were for the most part positive and informed by royal propaganda, and Schlözer continued to print royal and royalist texts when he could have chosen to print only oppositional writings. There were probably several reasons for this: Schlözer's genuine (but imperfect) attempts at impartiality; his own ideological and political beliefs; the positive, at times idealizing, images of Sweden that prevailed in eighteenth-century Göttingen and its journalistic flagship *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*; the royalist sympathies of Schlözer's fellow publicist and long-standing Swedish friend Carl Christoffer Gjörwell; and Schlözer's corresponding membership in the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. The Academy tended to identify strongly with the powers that be—before 1772, primarily with the ruling Hat Party, and after 1772, primarily with the monocratic king.[58]

58 Schlözer was not only a member of the Academy, he also translated some of its orations into German. See Sörlin, *De lärdas republik*, pp. 106–107. For Gjörwell and Schlözer, see Callmer, 'Svenska studenter', p. 10. For Gjörwell's royalism, see Ingemar Oscarsson, '"Rikets Frihet, Borgerlig Frihet, Skrif-Frihet". Gjörwell och *Den politiske Aristarchus* 1769–72', in Marie-Christine Skuncke & Henrika Tandefelt (eds.), *Riksdag, kaffehus och predikstol. Frihetstidens politiska kultur 1766–1772* (Stockholm, Atlantis, 2003), p. 316. For the intimate connections of the Royal Academy of Sciences to the Hat Party, see Bengt Hildebrand, *Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademien. Förhistoria, grundläggning och första organisation* (Stockholm, Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien, 1939), pp. 340, 369, 473, 619, 622–623; Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus. Nature and Nation* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 105; Sten Lindroth, *Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens historia 1739–1818* (3 vols., Stockholm, Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien, 1967), I. pp. 3, 68; Sven Widmalm, *Mellan kartan och verkligheten. Geodesi och kartläggning 1695–1860* (Uppsala, University of Uppsala, 1990), p. 57. For its relationship to Gustav III, see Jakob Christensson, *Lyckoriket. Studier i*

An important key to understanding the portrait of Gustav III that emerges in *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen* is Schlözer's lengthy visit to Sweden during the Age of Liberty. In 1756, a thwarted coup d'état centred on Gustav's parents, Adolf Frederick and Lovisa Ulrika, resulted in political upheaval and a number of public executions. Schlözer, who was living in Stockholm at the time, personally witnessed a death sentence being carried out against one of the top conspirators, Count Erik Brahe. These events reportedly had a life-altering effect on the young visitor:

> Here Schlözer for the first time experienced the constitutional reality of 'aristocracy', which according to his opinion was characterized by an indeterminate sovereignty, party fractioning and the powerlessness of the king. Out of these experiences arose his criticism of aristocratic and democratic forms of government. Therefore it is no wonder, that he later, after the Polish partitions, held the conviction, that Gustav III's coup had prevented the destruction of the Swedish realm in 1772.[59]

These impressions proved to be exceedingly resilient and clearly informed Schlözer's core intellectual activities at a much later stage in his life. In the case of Gustavian Sweden, then, anti-aristocratic sentiment on the whole had the upper hand over the anti-despotic outlook, although the battle was relatively even in the years surrounding the Russian War and the Union and Security Act.

Schlözer's transfers of Swedish propaganda in his journals *Briefwechsel* and *Stats-Anzeigen* offered readers a composite image of Sweden and its king. On the one hand, the northern realm was a land of liberty, governed by a benevolent and heroic monarch; on the other, it was a place of cumulative tyranny, whose autocratic ruler waged an unjust war and oppressed his subjects. The ambivalent Swedish projection space represented eighteenth-century attitudes in general regarding the distribution and organization of state power. In line with most of his erudite peers in Göttingen, the Germanies, and Sweden, Schlözer mainly came down on the 'estate-enlightened' side of this divide, as the powers that be and the existing order by and large prevailed in his renderings of Gustavian politics.

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svensk upplysning (Stockholm, Atlantis, 1996), p. 132; Alm, *Kungsord*, p. 114; Tandefelt, *Konsten*, pp. 99–100.

59 Peters, *Altes Reich*, p. 43.

PART 2

Political Transfers

CHAPTER 6

Big Theories and Humble Realities: Censorship and Public Opinion in the Eighteenth Century

Edoardo Tortarolo

Good fortune comes and goes, in the realm of historical research as in the rest of life. Particular categories, paradigms, perspectives, or sources gain instant notoriety and for a time may seem to hold the key that can unlock 'historical truth', until other ways of accounting for the past displace them. But the cognitive gains from earlier paradigms hardly disappear when new ones overtake them: preserved in the way we visualize the past, they continue to leave signposts from routes travelled, traceable through footnotes. From this perspective it is irrelevant whether we believe that historians construe meaning by writing histories, or whether we agree with Eelco Runia's provocative suggestion that the presence of the past, that is the essence of history, exists in spite of the meaning historians are prone to read into it.[1] One way or another, the history of historical writing is marked by the sudden success and demise of paradigms that have presented themselves as unassailable but have proved to be, at best, innovative approaches that contribute to the process of uncovering layers and dimensions of the past (often those that were previously underappreciated or even flatly disregarded). Few paradigms in recent research on the eighteenth century can boast the relevance accorded to the notions of the public sphere and public opinion advanced by Jürgen Habermas in a book he first published in 1962 as his *Habilitationsschrift*. In the fifty years since Habermas's thesis, *die Öffentlichkeit* (or, depending on your linguistic preferences, *l'espace public*, or *the public sphere*) has risen to become a major point of reference for understanding the eighteenth century. This model has been subject to criticisms that have seriously questioned its efficacy from a variety of standpoints.[2] But its

1 Eelco Runia, 'Presence', *History and Theory* 45.1 (2006), pp. 1–29.

2 See A. Sturm, 'A Bibliography of the Concept Öffentlichkeit', *New German Critique* 61 (1994), pp. 161–202. A comprehensive discussion of Habermas's notion is Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA- London, MIT, 1992). For a useful introduction, see Harold Mah, 'Phantasies of the Public Sphere. Rethinking the Habermas of Historians', *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000), pp. 155–170. More recently Stéphane Van Damme has discussed the limits of Habermas's category in 'Farewell Habermas? Deux décennies d'études sur l'espace public', *Les Dossiers du Grihl* [En ligne], 'Les dossiers de Stéphane Van Damme, Historiographie et méthodologie', (published online 28 June 2007)

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importance for eighteenth-century scholarship is undeniable. Ironically, *Die Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* was not intended as a work for historians. The first part, depicting the emergence and consolidation of the public sphere, laid out the premise behind Habermas's sharp attack on Europe for leaving the promise of liberalism unfulfilled and creating a state of illiberal, late-capitalist decay. The *Frankfurter Schule* needed historically based underpinnings for its 'critical theory', and Habermas delivered it with immense erudition under the difficult circumstances of cold-war Germany. Yet Habermas's ideas resonated in unintended ways, particularly after his book appeared in French translation in 1978, later followed by an enormously successful American version in 1989. The result was a seemingly endless number of public spheres that were discovered or construed in a variety of different social and geographical locations.[3] What Habermas had conceived as a stage in the European experiments with rationality in politics had now morphed into a ubiquitous form of communication that one could encounter in Asia as well as in pre-modern Europe.

Why was Habermas's model so successful? And why does his big theory look quite obsolete now, especially when it is applied to research on the eighteenth century? In his 1962 text Habermas could balance two contrasting registers: first, the public sphere as the network of the media, produced by journalists, entrepreneurs, political actors, and readers, especially those belonging to the bourgeoisie; and, second, the public sphere as the field where rational men and some women could virtually convene, appropriate the news conveyed by the gazettes and periodicals, discuss them, and rationally agree on political decisions to be made on issues relevant for the society as a whole. The clash between politics and morals could then be solved, or so it seemed, in the public sphere of a bourgeoisie that embraced civil society and privacy and differed intrinsically from the representative public sphere of absolutist rule. In Habermas's view a regulative notion of the public sphere apparently overlapped with historical reality at the end of the eighteenth century before the turmoil of the French Revolution. In the same years Reinhart Koselleck was

<http://dossiersgrihl.revues.org/682; DOI: 10.4000/dossiersgrihl.682>. In 2012 two excellent critical assessments of the link between public sphere and modernity were published: Volker Gerhardt, *Öffentlichkeit. Die politische Form des Bewusstseins* (München, Beck, 2012), and Sandro Landi, 'Au delà de l'espace public. Habermas, Locke et le consentement tacite', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 59 (2012), pp. 7–32.

3 Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, Lucherhand, 1962); *L'espace public. Archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise* (Paris, Payot, 1978); *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge MA, The MIT Press, 1991).

delivering the opposite message: public opinion embodied the morality that strove to replace the traditional form of politics and ended up establishing the foundations for the totalitarian tragedy of the twentieth century.[4] Habermas was and probably still is definitely more sympathetic to the historical process of the Enlightenment than Koselleck ever was. The field of Enlightenment studies in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s was very crowded and diverse. Nonetheless, under the aegis of scholars like Robert Palmer, Peter Gay, Franco Venturi, Robert Darnton, and Daniel Roche, there seemed to be a consensus that Habermas's notion of what public opinion was in the eighteenth century prevailed over Koselleck's perception that the enhanced circulation of ideas, opinions, wishes, and utopian dreams was nurturing a self-destructive potential. Habermas seemed to fit the historians' agenda better than Koselleck, even in the case of historians who had never read either Habermas or Koselleck first hand. Prima facie 'periodical transfers' fitted the framework of Habermas's public sphere.

The result was a long and extremely fruitful area of research testing the extent to which Habermasian 'big theory' could stand the pressure of 'humble realities' and be empirically verified. The output of books and essays on different aspects of the public sphere in the eighteenth century and on the gazettes and the periodical press has been impressive and bears witness to the impact of his insights. These have been used more or less openly to investigate a variety of situations at the end of the eighteenth century that have reshaped our understanding of the era to a great degree. Workers in London; amateur scientists in provincial England; defrocked monks turned journalists in Paris, Florence and Lausanne; peasant villagers protesting against their feudal lords in the German states; free-thinkers discussing and propagating clandestinely unconventional religious views all across Europe—they all could be and have been investigated in terms of some form of public sphere that recalled or was directly inspired by Habermas. At the same time specific aspects of his big theories were exposed as faulty and problematic, and some critics voiced strong objections. Some remarked that his 'reasoning public' was distinctly male and bourgeois, and in many cases it was not even reasoning: as historians came to realize, Habermas was accepting (and corroborating) the bourgeois

4 Reinhart Koselleck, *Kritik und Krise. Ein Beitrag zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Welt* (Freiburg, Alber, 1959); *Critique and Crises. Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1988). On Koselleck see Niklas Olsen, *History in the Plural. An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck* (New York-Oxford, Berghahn, 2012); Helge Jordheim, 'Against periodization: Koselleck's Theory of Multiple Temporalities', *History and Theory*, 51 (2012), pp. 151–171.

self-definition of public sphere at face value, uncritically. The public sphere in the eighteenth century was power-oriented, not reason-oriented. It was authority-oriented, not truth-oriented. It served the purpose of maintaining discipline, not of encouraging what it claimed to be pursuing, universal rationality. Often but not always in an Adornian and Foucaultian vein, historians rejected the vision of an enlightened public sphere, or at least the concept of a public sphere of the Enlightenment. The notion of a single unchanging reason to be reached through dialogue and good will was replaced by local reasons, local public spheres. Since the 1980s the bourgeois public sphere not only had to square off against the absolutist court. It faced a number of competing public spheres: negotiations were necessary, overlaps and tensions inevitable.

Since losing its status as the incubator of rationality, the eighteenth-century public sphere now looks more fragmented than it ever appeared to Habermas. Still, its multiple forms gained a documentary solidity that its 1962 antecedent never had nor could have had.[5] In this chapter, I will link some specific aspects of the public spheres at the end of the eighteenth century to the broad topic of the transformations in the perception of global politics that took place in the periodical press. 'Big theories' stand on shaky ground if 'humble realities' elude their explanatory function, whereas individual experiences of the past slip into oblivion without a big theory to rescue and explain them. But where do big theories and humble realities meet up?

Censorship

Public spheres were created in the exchange of news and opinions occurring in a variety of situations: muddy and dark streets and squares in the towns and villages where men and women of all social standings listened to those reading public announcements and royal decrees, smoke-filled rooms where gentlemen convened after dinner, loud taverns where daily workers mixed with underemployed writers and dubious clergymen. These were some of the venues where citizens launched discussions and confronted each other's personal views in debates both oral and written. The history of such exchanges has been recorded very unequally.[6] The oral as well as the written expressions of this

5 Habermas acknowledged some objections in his introduction to the reprint of 1990 (*Die Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. Mit einem Vorwort zur Neuauflage, Frankfurt/Main, Suhrkamp, 1990).

6 See Arlette Farge, *Dire et mal dire: L'*Opinion publique *au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, Seuil, 1992); Antoine Lilti, *Le Monde des salons. Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris,

ongoing discussion depended on a dimension of the public spheres that has not attracted Habermas's attention sufficiently.

The absolutist and the republican governments in continental Europe in fact exercised a close control over the press that, hypothetically, at least, framed the limits of all possible public spheres, through a cumbersome system of pre-publication censorship and through post-publication controls. The principle of the printing privilege for books and periodicals implied that publication—the act of making words and images accessible to everybody—depended on the explicit authorization of civil authority and, in some Catholic and Protestant states, of religious authority, too. With the exception of the English monarchy and the United Provinces, in continental Europe the public spheres in fact depended on how much information the censorship institutions were willing to allow. They also depended on the ability of the control agencies to enforce their repressive policies. The historiography of the eighteenth century has long depicted relationships between writers, journalists, and regulatory institutions in black and white, without nuances. But the stories of books that were pulped if they ran against religious or political orthodoxy, authorities exercising a tight grip on the circulation of news and newspapers, and customs officers searching travellers to confiscate controversial literature are only one side of the coin. In fact, the various mechanisms for regulating the flow of information and ideas were more flexible and adjustable than the mere existence of an official censor in most continental states would suggest. Granting privileges to books or periodical publications meant legal protection from pirating in addition to conformity with the principles that shaped the politics, morals, and religion of the state. Nonetheless, states required efficient means to spread news, knowledge, and opinions, all of which would influence prevailing sentiments in favour of the legitimate ruler. As a result, censorship emerged as a means to create a sphere of publicity, to promote 'public spirit', as writers in the eighteenth century would likely say.[7]

Censors were aware that their function as gatekeepers gave them leeway to promote public knowledge and the advancement of prosperity, not just to avert ideological threats. One example may briefly elucidate this point. Political economy was definitely the new science of the eighteenth century. It promised to emancipate mankind from poverty and to multiply the resources that governments could manage. In the 1760s and 1770s the physiocratic movement

Fayard, 2005); Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice. Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007).

7 John A. W. Gunn, *Queen of the World: Opinion in the Public Life of France from the Renaissance to the Revolution* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 1995).

had an on-and-off relationship with the French government and was encouraged and silenced according to the whims of the controller general in place. But royal censors like Cadet de Saineville consistently allowed the publication of physiocratic treatises in order to promote the diffusion of economic knowledge, notwithstanding his personal doubts that physiocracy was the only 'true' economic theory.[8] And in 1770 another royal censor, Moreau, encouraged the physiocrats to use a more accessible language to spread their theories.[9] In more general terms, Diderot, who was no follower of Quesnay's theory and rejected the dogma of free grain trade, conceded that the physiocrats were playing a crucial role in persuading, "in the long run, the police, the court, and the magistrates […] to give heed to all sorts of ideas and the authors to tell anything. Little by little the nation will get used to the issues of finance, trade, agriculture, legislation, and politics."[10] Diderot wished that censors were trained to be reasonable instruments of the absolute monarchy, while writers were reminded of their moral and civil responsibility towards the public. In other words, absolute monarchies pressured their censorship institutions not only to restrict the publication of damaging or dangerous books and periodicals but also to energize or create from scratch forms of public opinions that were necessary for the modernizing project of many eighteenth-century governments.

Pressure came also from below, as the economic role played by the publishing sector demonstrates. Officers were obviously aware that prohibiting the publication of a book resulted in the loss of revenue and jobs. The same was true in the case of periodicals, as they meant a steady flow of cash. While some French gazettes published outside the French monarchy (e.g. the Prussian *Courier du Bas-Rhin* and the *Gazette des divers endroits*, better known as the *Gazette de Leyde*),[11] Italian periodicals and gazettes had to achieve a bizarre balance that has attracted little notice. In the second half of the eighteenth century they had so much difficulty circumventing the requirements of the civil censors (and especially the ecclesiastical supervisors, who still exercised

8 Bibliothéque Nationale de France, Fonds français MS 22015, f. 195, 8 March 1777.

9 Liana Vardi, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 141.

10 Denis Diderot, *Miscellanea philosophiques*, in Jules Assézat and Maurice Tourneux (eds.), *Œuvres complètes* (20 vols., Paris, Garnier Frères, 1875), IV. 83.

11 Matthias Beermann, *Zeitung zwischen Profit und Politik: der 'Courier du Bas-Rhin' (1767–1810). Eine Fallstudie zur politischen Tagespublizistik im Europa des späten 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1996); Jeremy D. Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution. Jean Luzac's Gazette de Leyde* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca-London, 1989).

considerable power) that despite an expanding market, no periodical seemed to be able to meet the expectations of educated Italian readers. In Florence, the Habsburg Grand Duke Peter Leopold came up with a solution that was in tune with his reformist, and certainly not revolutionary, aims. He promoted the creation of two gazettes in Italian in the 1760s and early 1770s that proved to be financially profitable: the *Notizie del mondo* (*News from the world*) and the *Gazzetta universale* (*Universal gazette*).[12] What was the difference between the two? Drawing on the same pool of English- and French-language gazettes for the news, they selected the pieces that would best cater to two different audiences: the 'enlightened' and curious reading public would read the *Notizie del mondo*, which reflected the anti-ecclesiastical policy of the Grand Duke's government and aimed at curtailing the autonomous power of the Church in Tuscany, while the more socially and religiously conservative elements would turn to the *Gazzetta universale*.[13] Both stood firmly under the control of Peter Leopold's officers, who put these gazettes under the surveillance of reliable censors. The Grand Duke cultivated favorable public opinions without forsaking the profits he could net from the successful sales of both gazettes outside Tuscany.

Censorship, contrary to Habermas's cursory remarks on that issue, repressed and sustained the press in all those countries that did not follow the English and Dutch examples of radical deregulation. Repression was indeed a crucial element of censorship's function: its success was far from certain, though. In at least one very significant case the officers of the French absolutist monarchy seriously intended to stop the publication of a periodical that addressed crucial issues totally unwelcome to the French government and failed spectacularly. The *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* were printed underground from 1728 onwards within French territory to support and articulate the Jansenist opposition to the monarchy-friendly Gallican Church.[14] Despite their serious efforts, the police could never bust the network of journalists, editors, printers, and peddlers (and readers, of course) that kept alive this resolutely anti-absolutist periodical. The *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* managed to celebrate Jansenist heroes,

12 Giuseppe Ricuperati, 'Giornali e società nell'Italia dell'"Ancien Regime" (1668–1789)', in Valerio Castronovo-Nicola Tranfaglia, editors, *La stampa italiana dal '500 all'800* (Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1980), pp. 67–387.

13 Maria Augusta Morelli Timpanaro, *Legge sulla stampa e attività editoriale a Firenze nel secondo Settecento*, in *Autori, stampatori, librai per una storia dell'editoria in Firenze nel secolo XVIII* (Firenze, Olschki 1999), pp. 1–219.

14 Jean Sgard, *Dictionnaire des journaux 1600–1789* (Paris, Universitas, 1991), pp. 951–953 (Notice 1027).

like the peddler Martin Budrier, who was arrested in 1730, put in shackles, and imprisoned in the Bastille, the despicable symbol of royal authority.

The French ministers of foreign affairs chose to be flexible and negotiate with the editors of the *Gazette de Leyde* over how and how much the *Gazette* might cover domestic issues in the Bourbon monarchy. The power asymmetry between underground Jansenist journalists and printers on the one hand and the influential Jean and Etienne Luzac and the mandarins of the French ministries on the other is too evident to be worth further discussion, but we should bear in mind that it was a peculiar asymmetry, based on a number of loopholes allowing for unpredictable outcomes.

Compression of Time/Globalization of Space

State regulatory institutions both repressed and failed to repress dissenting voices, in many cases generating or favouring new forms of reading (and reasoning) publics that had access to an increasing variety of products. Without exception, these institutions had to adjust to the shifts in the public sphere. Visualizing the eighteenth century as a whole from beginning to end, I would argue that a twofold fundamental change took place. Fully aware of overdramatizing them, I will call the first shift the compression of time and the second one the globalization of space. They are obviously interconnected.[15] By compression of time in the eighteenth century, I mean the cumulative effect on public opinion of concentrated exposure to news and current events, thanks to the emergence of bi-weekly print media. The mere existence of the periodical press presented a growing challenge to the principle of the *arcana imperii*, state secrets that should not be divulged under any circumstances. The periodic press pounced upon such matters, uncovering the different stages of the same events in subsequent issues for readers to scrutinize eagerly, alert to factual corrections and contrasting ways of interpreting the same piece of news. Serialization was crucial to this process and contributed to the developing expectation that events unfold in a coherent way within a relatively short time frame.

Well before the French Revolution accelerated this development, the dramatic events since the Seven Years' War had occurred under the very eyes of the readers in the pages of the gazettes and pamphlets. The time that elapsed

15 For some interesting insights into the early modern notions of space and time, see Lucian Hoelscher, *Semantik der Leere. Grenzfragen der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Göttingen, Wallstein, 2009).

between when events occurred and when they became public domain was increasingly perceived as a problem that obscured their proper understanding. Technically, news could not travel faster in 1783 than it did in 1703. Prior to the telegraph in the 1840s, messages travelled no faster than a horse and rider or a ship at sea, with the railway locomotive and the steamboat playing a subordinate role after 1800. But since at least the mid-eighteenth century journalists were aware that speed was a bonus that they should emphasize in presenting their gazettes. Military events and trade news had always attracted the attention of gazetteers, and had long been their core business. The fiscal and social crisis spreading in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War brought a new sense of urgency. All around Europe readers wanted to be updated about what was going on in Geneva when the *natifs* repeatedly challenged the ruling elite, endangering the European balance of power between France and England.[16] Pious and secularized Catholics wanted to learn what consequences the dissolution of the Jesuit order might have for them.[17] Every bit of news had the potential to add valuable, indispensable information. In 1783 the coverage of Pope Pius VI travelling to Vienna to visit the Emperor Joseph II had an eager daily following among devout Catholics and hard-boiled opponents of clerical privilege.[18]

The dramatic increase in the quantity of news, regardless of the frequent need to retract news items and correct inaccuracies, suggests that the German historian Rolf Engelsing was not entirely wrong in the late 1960s when he claimed that in the eighteenth century *extensive* reading replaced *intensive* reading.[19] The accumulation of news was obviously a consequence of *extensive* reading. It also facilitated the awareness of living in a time that was saturated with events, twists and turns in public and private destinies, and decisions and changes. An average issue of the aforementioned *Gazzetta universale* carried news from ten to fourteen different towns, many of them located in the British

16 See Richard Whatmore, *Against War and Empire. Geneva, Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2012).

17 Antonio Trampus, *I gesuiti e l'Illuminismo. Politica e religione in Austria e nell'Europa centrale 1773–1798* (Firenze, Olschki, 2000).

18 Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore IV: La caduta dell'Antico regime (1776–1789)* (2vols., Torino, Einaudi, 1984), II. 615–779; Derek Beales, *Joseph II. Against the World, 1780–1790* (2 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), II. 214–238.

19 Rolf Engelsing, 'Die Perioden der Lesergeschichte in der Neuzeit. Das statistische Ausmass und die soziokulturelle Bedeutung der Lektüre', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 10 (1969), cols 944–1002. A critical discussion of Engelsing's argument is in Robert Darnton, 'First Steps Toward a History of Reading', in *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York, Norton, 1990), pp. 154–187.

Isles and in continental Europe. Everyday life, at least in urban settings, was increasingly influenced by news that originated outside people's direct experience. Starting in the 1760s news from the Ottoman Empire became quite common, and events in the Americas, Russia, and Asia became staple ingredients in European gazettes that reported about the Seven Years' War. To be sure, books did much to promote the globalization of space in the second half of the eighteenth century. The immense popularity of the different versions of the British *Universal histories* and Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes* (after its first, 1770 edition) broadened the horizon of educated readers and established a global frame of analysis. But at the same time, the gazettes and periodicals were better set up to meet the increased appetite for current information on global events, delivered in a timely manner, and they vied for readers' attention and competed with the more conventional encyclopaedic and fictional literature.[20] In addition, periodicals were affordable and speedy ways of providing local communities with a window to the world, as Nøding points to in this volume.

Along with the official news and accounts of battles and court ceremonies, gazettes increasingly printed tales of stirring adventures and unusual events, introducing exceptional characters in the process.[21] A close-up examination of some periodicals dealing with the same piece of news may show how the transmission of information worked and how editors coped with the challenges of time compression and the globalization of space.[22] The *Gazette de Leyde* provides an excellent starting point for examining this point in some detail. Poised to be perhaps the most reliable European gazette, it fully enjoyed the Dutch version of freedom of the press and was widely read as its extended network of correspondents provided fresh news abundantly. However, far from being indiscriminate, its long-time editor, Jean Luzac, made conscious choices about which accounts and documents to publish, and he focused on a "serious, dignified and somewhat dull language [that] contributed to the *Gazette de Leyde*'s image as a dependable news source". Luzac was aware that the gazette's success depended on the relatively neutral tone that reflected both his personal rejection of an essentialist notion of truth and his search for an increas-

20 Sunil Agnani, '"Doux Commerce, Douce Colonisation". Diderot and the Two Indies of the French Enlightenment', in Larry Wolff and Marco Cipolloni (eds.), *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 65–84.

21 See John Brewer, *Sentimental Murder. Love and Madness in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Harper Collins, 2004), pp. 37–62.

22 For an additional example, see Merethe Roos' article in this volume, on the reception of the Struensee affair in the British press.

ingly wider public that would turn to the *Gazette* for information.[23] Unassuming and low-key as most of its articles were, the *Gazette* did not shy away from reporting about sensational events and bizarre characters from every corner of the world. In 1772 its readers were taken to China and the unexplored areas east of the Chinese coast, thanks to the Polish-Slowak-Hungarian adventurer, pirate, and eventually self-appointed emperor of Madagascar, Mauricy Beniowski.[24] The story of his ordeals in Russia and Asia until his arrival in Macao became popular after his death in 1786, when Beniowski's *Memoirs* were published and became a source of inspiration for Romantic novelists and playwrights.[25] Before that, Beniowski's adventures took the European readership by surprise, eliciting empathy as much as scepticism. Accounts of his exploits were printed in various European gazettes, but the *Gazette de Leyde* would not content itself with merely reprinting an implausible story. Or so the editor Jean Luzac claimed. On 21 July 1772 the *Gazette de Leyde* published news of fires ravaging Saint Petersburg and Archangelsk. As a postscript to the main news, the editor added an account about Beniowski that was intended to replace "those tales that had him go from Kazan, through the endless deserts of Northern Siberia to Kamchatka, and set sail: they seemed so full of unlikely details that it was improper to present them to the public." The editor of the *Gazette de Leyde* chose to publish 'an authentic report' ('une Relation authentique'), originally published in a Russian gazette, that apparently fitted with Luzac's suspicion about Beniowski's moral fiber. The report acknowledged

23 Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution*, p. 95. A digitalized version of the years 1750 through 1789 is now under <http://www.gazettes18e.fr/gazette-leyde>. For a perceptive analysis of the link between accumulation of news and epistemological issues, see Brendan Dooley, *The Social History of Skepticism. Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1999).

24 The *Histoire des deux Indes*, the best-selling universal history of the 1770s and 1780s, had a detailed account of the French plans to set foot on Madagascar, but it did not mention Beniowski by name (*Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (5 vols., Genève, 1781), II. 4.5, p. 254–270. The French public was familiar with the story of the French colonial schemes in Madagascar in the eighteenth century: see Marco Platania, 'Madagascar "possession française"? L'historiographie coloniale en débat: une mise en perspective', in Guido Abbattista (ed.), *Encountering Otherness: Diversities and Transcultural Experiences in Early Modern European Culture* (Trieste, EUT, 2011), pp. 267–284.

25 The English translation *Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius Augustus Count de Benyowsky* (Dublin, Porter, 1790) has been digitized on <http://www.wdl.org/>. See Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 341.

Beniowski's real (if unintentional) achievement in discovering a passage from Kamchatka to Japan, but it also downplayed the feat as 'a conspiracy of criminals' ('un Complot de Criminels'). News of Beniowski's arrival in Macao in September 1771 came from a report by the English India Company to the central office in London. From London the Russian government eventually learned what had occurred in the most eastern parts of its own empire and had the account printed in the *Gazette de Petersburg*. From Kamchatka to Saint Petersburg (and back to Leiden) the news had travelled through Macao and London, suggesting a constant flow of information encircling the Eurasian continent. In those weeks of 1772 the same letter appeared in the *London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (possibly from the same source the *Gazette de Leyde* used); reprints were published in the Prussian *Courier du Bas-Rhin*, edited by Jean Manzon and in the *Journal politique ou gazette des gazettes*.[26]

Luzac and Edward Kimber, the editor of the *London Magazine*, embraced the Russian version of the events and purged the story of its most fascinating features, which had delighted the readers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Some readers undoubtedly noticed the difference. In fact, the June issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* carried a letter from Canton, dated 19 November 1771, which described the arrival of Beniowski in late September 1771. Far from expressing disdain for Beniowski's unusual adventures, the *Gentleman's Magazine* added this intriguing remark to the letter, in an apparent move to arouse its readers' interest:

> P.S. Since I wrote the above, the following strange account has reached me from Macao (every day brings forth new matter concerning these people): One of the persons dressed like a woman died a few days afterwards. The body was sent [from the ship] ashore, with the following very extraordinary request to the governor, that the corpse should be interred where none had lain before, and in an honourable spot; that the baron might have liberty to attend the funeral to pay particular honours to the deceased. This remarkable request producing that never-failing curiosity peculiar to the Romish Priesthood, two *worthies* of the Franciscan order, taking advantage of the night, *peeped* into the coffin and discovered the body of a man. This deception disgusting the Portuguese exceedingly, the

26 *London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, 41 (July 1772), pp. 346–347, 'Extract from a letter from Petersburgh, June 23'; *Courier du Bas-Rhin*, 60 (25 July 1772), pp. 479–480, 'De la Vistule, le 10 juillet'; *Journal politique ou gazette des gazettes* (August 1772), pp. 13–15.

> body was ordered to receive common interment. Various are the accounts we have of the rank of the deceased: some say the Baron declares he was a Prince of the empire; others report him a Bishop. This account has produced many conjectures, not very favourable to the remaining petticoats.

The postscript's anti-Catholic tone might have been calculated to offset the obvious sympathy Tory readers might have had for the bizarre group of adventurers.

The government-controlled *Gazette de France* printed a third, slightly different account in June 1772, based on a letter from Edmond de Rothe, a high-ranking official of the French India Company in Canton, to his brother in Paris, the sieur de Rothe.[27] French support for the Polish confederates against the Russians informed this letter, and de Rothe's sympathetic description of the adventurer leaves no title out: Beniowski was a Hungarian baron of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, a Counselor to the Prince Albert Duke of Saxony, a Colonel of the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and an Officer of the Confederate troops of the Polish Kingdom. His travel mates were also persons of high rank, taken prisoner by the Russians and sent to Siberia 'to end there their days'. Beniowski 'found a way to save himself' with eighty prisoners and reached Macao,

> where they were welcomed by the Portuguese. They suffered hunger and thirst for two months. Twice their ship was damaged and twice they fixed it. In the name of the Empress-Queen, the baron Benyorski [sic] has asked for the protection of the French Nation to return to Europe along with the persons of his entourage who survived.[28]

The *Gazette de Berne* showed similar respect for Beniowski in early 1773:

> It has been confirmed that the Baron Benyowski, this Hungarian who was taken prisoner by the Russians and later relegated to Siberia, whence he managed to flee, has been employed by the French, and that with the regiment of volunteers that he has raised and that is under his command,

27 On the Rothe family see Patrick Clarke de Dromantin, *Les réfugiés jacobites dans la France du XVIIIe siècle: l'exode de toute une noblesse pour cause de religion* (Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2005), pp. 245–248.

28 *Gazette de France* (8 June 1772), 'Extrait d'une lettre du Chevalier de Rothe au sieur de Rothe, son frère, écrite de Canton, le 13 novembre 1771', p. 218.

he will set sail next springtime. He has been sent to open up a north-eastern route to the Indies.[29]

Emotional Language

One more aspect of the larger-than-life personality of Mauricy Beniowski as it was described in the gazettes of the time underlines a trend in the eighteenth-century periodical press. Gazettes and reviews became increasingly interested in developing a specific style for delivering their information. A visible tension emerged between the tradition of neutral description, the language used to report on court ceremonies and military parades (or the cut-and-paste of official documents) and a more modern approach—using language to set a tone, creating high expectations and suggesting extraordinary circumstances. In other words, the spiralling crisis of the Ancien Régime in the 1770s and 1780s was producing a language that could adjust to the complexity of political and social events and serve up knowledge and news in an accessible form.

This was a difficult task for many reasons. Gazettes felt compelled to vouch for their sources in the face of charges that their reports were unreliable. But what were these sources? In most cases continental gazettes and periodicals depended heavily on the English newspapers for their information, supplemented by private letters and diplomatic dispatches that the departments for foreign affairs were often ready to share with editors, as in the case of the letter about Beniowski's arrival in Macao.[30] Editors might have had limited leeway in rephrasing information for their readers, but they nonetheless increasingly

29 *Gazette de Berne* (24 March 1773), p. 4.

30 Not all diplomatic reports were shared with the gazettes. On Beniowski see Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions 9381, *Recueil de pièces diverses sur les colonies et correspondance de Magry avec divers historiens des colonies d'Amérique ou autres copies de pièces sur l'entreprise du Baron de Benyowski, Canton 1771*, ff. 18–49; Nouvelles acquisitions 9413, *Mémoires sur l'expédition du baron de Benyowski en Madagascar, 1772* (ff. 265–345); *Plan de l'établissement formé par M. le baron de Benyowski au nord de la baie d'Antongil* (ff. 346–387); British Library East Indies Series 24, 10R/H/116, 1762–1775 (6), *John Clavering to Lord Rochford, eighteenth July 1771, with Intelligence regarding the French, Swedish, Danish and Spanish at the Cape; the Hungarian Adventurer Beniowski established in Madagascar opposite St. Mary's* (ff. 201–221); Add MS 18844, *Mémoire sur l'expedition de Madagascar concernant la formation de l'etablissement royal en cette ile dont l'execution et le commandement en chef ont été confie par Sa Majeste à Monsieur le baron de Beniowszky colonel propriétaire d'un corps de volontaires dans l'an 1772*.

added commentary to the news they were presenting. Comparing the early reporting about Beniowski between 1772–1773 and the reports that appeared at the time of his death in 1785 can shed light on the changes that took place in gazette reporting in that short span of time. The dry-as-dust style the *Gazette de Leyde* so cherished had fallen out of favour; increasingly, commentaries appealed to readers' emotions. When Beniowski was killed in Madagascar in a clash with natives, reports in the French gazettes abounded and indulged in moralizing sentiments and appeals to the readers. The report by Kersaint in *Journal politique* showed unabashed sympathy for this hero of the Polish resistance who had fled to freedom through Siberia. Charged by the French monarchy with establishing a settlement in Madagascar, he had stayed on the island until 1776, when he returned to Europe, where the Emperor Joseph II restored to him his family possessions. With the financial support of an English company, Beniowski headed for Madagascar again in 1786, landed on the northern coast, and set up an entrenched camp with his small army of sixty. From there he "sent a message of peace to the inhabitants, in the name of the English." A secret conspiracy arose against him, and 500 men overwhelmed Beniowski and his entourage. An officer and a few others escaped and broke the news of "this cruel destruction". As the report concludes, "This was the end of a fearless, enterprising, active man, whose fate was probably determined by the decision he made against the Russians at the beginning of the trouble of his country."[31] A couple of months later, new material revised this account of the events as well as the moral judgements about Beniowski. No longer the Polish freedom fighter, the adventurer now appeared to have had a background in the slave trade in Mozambique, where his personal greed, unbounded self-esteem, and hunger for power could find an outlet: "the baron was the victim of his burning imagination and of schemes he had worked out hastily."[32] Moral principles faded into irrelevancy when applied to his amazing energy. It was this version of the last period in Beniowski's life that spread throughout Europe.[33]

Before finding its final version in his autobiographical memoirs, published in 1790, and then in the nineteenth-century romantic plays of Kotzebue and in lyric operas, Beniowski's story tested journalists' ability to walk the fine line between admiration for his heroic character and the appropriate level of respect for moral conventions and political allegiances. News outlets faced a balancing act between adhering to the facts and interpreting events in a way that would

31 *Journal politique ou gazette des gazettes* (February 1786), pp. 60–61.

32 *Journal politique ou gazette des gazettes* (February 1787), p. 56.

33 *Gazzetta universale*, 18 (4 March 1786), pp. 138–139.

appeal to readers. The editors of gazettes and periodicals had to learn how to respect authority while still attracting readers' interest, while the public was going to great lengths to learn how to read the press. The more the globalization of space brought information from distant places to the readers' house doors, the more readers had to become skilled in what the German *Gelehrte* called *die Kunst, Zeitungen zu lesen* [the art of reading newspapers]. Despite the authority of the printed word, readers would often cast doubt upon the credibility of unlikely events and, as Luzac had suggested, needed to be encouraged to rationally accept the reports printed in periodicals. In fact, sensational and horrific crime stories filled the gazettes of the late 1700s. Their credibility, however, must be proved by rational arguments and empirical evidence that readers would accept as authoritative. An interesting case is provided by Jeffrey Freedman, who relates the fascinating story of an attempted mass murder in Zürich that occurred when, for unknown reasons, on 12 September 1776, poisoned wine was allegedly circulated among worshippers in the Zürich Cathedral.[34] The German-speaking gazettes were caught between two conflicting goals: conveying the shock caused by this unheard-of event against religion and civic-mindedness, and maintaining an appropriate, scientific approach in reporting the facts and looking for a logical explanation. The poisoning attempt in Zürich forced the German and Swiss gazettes to strike the right note in attracting readers who might turn to competing media and to explore ways to establish the truth and uphold their reputations as credible sources of information.

Politics as a Stowaway

A complex web of processes unfolded in the second half of the eighteenth century: periodicals addressed new groups of readers who were conceptually identifiable and empirically observable. The periodical press also challenged the limits institutionalized censorship had placed on the flow of information to the public. The perception of time and space had shifted as a consequence of the exposure to experiences and events from distant countries through the print media. At least one more process should be mentioned explicitly: the mid-eighteenth century was a time of linguistic invention, when many new coinages appeared and entered the vernacular, while at the same time known words changed their meaning substantially. The very expression 'public opinion' was coined in French by de Rulhière in the mid-eighteenth century. It first achieved a widely accepted and unambiguous meaning in 1789, when it came

34 Jeffrey Freedman, *A Poisoned Chalice* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002).

to be identified with the French Revolution. These new usages arose from a constant dialogue between readers and editors in the periodical press all over Europe. The change in meaning of the words *revolution* and *republic* are even more relevant here: Keith Baker has most recently remarked that the modern understanding of *revolution* emerged from a sustained analysis of the logic of events taking place in the second half of the eighteenth century. This meaning replaced the early modern meaning of *revolutions* as vicissitudes brought on by time. Dynamic transformations were at work, and words had to fit new realities that had universal significance. As Baker argues, "In Enlightenment discourse the notion of revolution was universalised and reoriented from past to future, taking on an entirely new set of meanings as it came to designate a process of transformation within modern society."[35] Gazettes and periodicals played a paramount role in familiarizing the European public with shifting perceptions of currents events. Similarly, the attempt to understand the events in Geneva, Poland, and the British colonies (we might call them 'revolutions' in the older sense of the word) clarified the circumstances that transformed the notion of *republic*. The American Revolution offers a special perspective on the fascinating topic of readers' emotional involvement in far-away ideological confrontations. With the latest news on the American Revolution reaching Europe, a new approach to politics became the stowaway that clandestinely shaped readers' expectations and visions. The universalizing effect of that revolution directly resulted from press coverage. What is more, readers inadvertently became politicized through their indiscriminate consumption of information relating to the British colonies in America—to an extent that the pro-American governments had obviously underestimated. No simple cause-and-effect argument can explain this process, but a look at three examples of the paradoxes that shaped the flow of information through the periodical press will help. The first is the well-known case of *Les affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique*, a periodical founded with funds from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, generously granted through the minister, Vergennes. Tom Paine's explicitly and rabidly republican treatise *Common Sense* was circulating in various instalments in 1776, like the parliamentary debates in the House of Commons that recorded the harsh exchanges between supporters and opponents of the war. Official documents of the newborn republics made the rounds, and an absolutist bureaucracy stirred up sentiment in favour of the American republicans. A micro-historical example might elucidate this paradox. Cadet de Saineville was a royal censor in the service of the French monar-

35 Keith M. Baker, 'Revolution 1.0', *Journal of Modern European History*, 11 (2013), n. 2, pp. 187–205.

chy: in 1781 he was assigned the manuscript of Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais historiques et politiques sur les Angloaméricains*, an outspoken tribute to the American revolutionaries.[36] Cadet de Saineville could not conceal his empathy. "Judging as a reader, this book has been a pleasure, but the question is how to assess it as a censor." The author, Hilliard d'Auberteuil, had sided all too clearly with the American insurgents.[37] His *esprit philosophique* was visible throughout the book: had the censor not responded to the book's controversial aspects, both the author and the censor would have run the risk of being burnt publicly (if only figuratively, we may assume) by the Paris Parliament. So Cadet de Saineville, because of the exaggerated threat posed by the Parliament, placed himself in the position of a supporter of good enlightenment. He did not suggest the rejection of the manuscript. He nonetheless highlighted that Hilliard d'Auberteuil praised liberty "as extending to toleration in religion and freedom of the press,"[38] that is, to areas pertaining to the sovereignty of the French monarch. But the prospectus of Hilliard d'Auberteuil's book was approved by Vergennes: obviously, however paradoxical it may seem, that was enough to receive a green light for its publication. This and similar writings were discussed and summarized in the newspapers and literary journals.

In 1784 the issues raised during the American Revolution and so wholeheartedly supported by Vergennes and the royal censors came back to haunt France. With hindsight they seemed to be aware that the critical debate may have gone too far. The censor Cadet de Saineville agreed with Mably's thoughts on the American principle of freedom of the press in his *Observations sur le government et les loix des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*. According to the censor, Mably made the wise point that "absolute freedom of the press might be dangerous in a brand new state that has gained its liberty before learning how to make use of it".[39]

Most of us are familiar with the story behind the Declaration of Independence (and details about its dissemination, as well as about the propagation of the thirteen state constitutions, and of the two Constitutions of 1780 and 1787). But few realize the important role the periodical press played in these events. In

36 It was published in 1781 with Bruxelles as the fictitious place of publication.

37 See Jean-Philippe E. Belleau, 'Love in the Time of Hierarchy: Ethnographic Voices in Eighteenth-Century Haiti', in *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, pp. 209–237; William Max Nelson, 'Making Men: Enlightenment Ideas of Racial Engineering', *American Historical Review*, 115 (December 2010), pp. 1364–1394. Hilliard d'Auberteuil is considered to have been a "legally minded reformist".

38 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds français MS 22015, f. 200.

39 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds français MS 22014, ff. 159–160.

fact, the press—the entire network of gazettes and periodicals, leaflets, and broadsheets—formed the basis for Europe's reactions to the new political concepts and visions resulting from the experiment in North America.[40] Readers reacted passionately, for and against, based upon press reports, and the periodical press conveyed vividly the emotionality of those reactions. Popular press experiments that sought to address the average man and use situations with which he might easily identify are especially interesting here. The German popular press provides a case in point. As Jonathan Israel has recently stressed, reactions to the American Revolution were mixed in Germany.[41] Here my point is that the circulation of news excited an emotional approach to political events occurring far away, well before the French Revolution. The *Berlinische Fama*, written by the remarkably successful journalist August Friedrich Cranz, staged a comical scene where a supporter of the British Crown, obviously called Brittenhold, suffers a stroke when he hears the news that Washington has defeated the British troops. Especially interesting is Cranz's description of the Berlin public reacting to the gazette's arrival with the latest updates. So addicted had they become to their regular fix of news reports that they rushed to the post office for the latest, as though every hour counted for Herr Brittenhold.[42] Cranz seemed to refer to the eighteenth-century equivalent of CNN or Fox News and their claim that "staying connected is everything".

It is quite a leap from Habermas's reasoning public to the overreaction of Herr Brittenhold to the latest news from America. In this chapter humble realities seem to have eventually prevailed over big theories, and that post-modern pointillism has triumphed over the master narrative. It would be unfair to suggest that big theories per se are obsolete, as though the past only yielded to analysis through discrete representations disjointed from the social, political, institutional, and conceptual infrastructures that made individual events tellable in the first place. Big theories are not obsolete in historical writing, including the notions of the public sphere and public opinion that Habermas so powerfully shaped in the 1950s. It is clear, however, that categories like public opinion should be further revised and made more flexible in order to

40 David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence. A Global History* (Cambridge, MA-London, Cambridge, University Press, 2007), neglects the importance of the European gazettes. For the translation of *The Federalist* into French, see Antonio De Francesco, 'Traduzione e rivoluzione. La storia meravigliosa della prima versione in francese del *Federalist* (Paris, Buisson 1792)', *Rivista storica italiana* 123.1 (2011), pp. 61–110.

41 Jonathan I. Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment, Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights 1750–1790* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011).

42 August Friedrich Cranz, *Berlinische Fama über Stadt- und Landbegebenheiten: erstes Ausblasen* (Berlin, 1781), p. 21. See illustration 6.1.

Die

Berlinische Fama

über

Stadt- und Landbegebenheiten.

Erstes Ausblasen.

Berlin 1781.

ILLUSTRATION 6.1 *August Friedrich Cranz,* Die Berlinische Fama über Stadt- und Landbegebenheiten*, Berlin 1781.*
IMAGE: © AUTHOR

accommodate all the information on the eighteenth-century periodicals that has been retrieved in the last fifty years and consider aspects like time and space perceptions and emotions, which Habermas disregarded. To do so, and enlarge the scope and depth of historical understanding, it might be wise for historians to consider carefully what disciplines like the cognitive and behavioural sciences, rather than traditional sociology, might contribute to rescuing those humble realities that make up our human experience in the first place.

CHAPTER 7

To Rule is to Communicate: The Absolutist System of Political Communication in Denmark–Norway, 1660–1750

Jakob Maliks

Introduction

In eighteenth-century Denmark–Norway, government censorship was an essential part of a specific absolutist system of political communication. Established in the country during the Reformation, censorship changed over time, targeting significantly different kinds of speech while organizing and exercising control in a relatively uniform and stable manner. Studies on censorship have tended to focus on the ebb or flow of repression, viewing the mechanisms of government control in isolation from other communicative structures. On the other hand, studies on communicative structures like petitions and the administrative decision-making process have tended to ignore the importance of making decisions public in absolutist regimes. Understanding how absolutist systems exercise control over political communication requires attention not only to the procedures behind decision-making within state administrations, but also to the way those regimes communicate those decisions to the public. As I will argue in this chapter, government control over printed material was an integral part of a comprehensive system of political communication consisting of two distinct parts: the corporate channel of petitions and administration, and the 'representative public sphere'.[1]

This system of political communication was integral to the absolutist mode of governing in Denmark–Norway, in which there was no clear distinction between state and society. State and society were understood as a single

1 I employ the term 'public sphere' together with 'representative' to designate what was established by making accessible and known to the public any printed materials that had been subjected to the proper censoring procedures or any form announcement issued under royal authority. The term 'sphere' refers to the social space created in the act of communicating aspects of the representation by the state to its subjects. This sphere did not have autonomy from the state; it belonged to the state, and all access was contingent upon state authorization. In this respect my use of 'public sphere' differs from that of Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge MA, Polity, 1989), p. 7.

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organism or body politic.[2] If we extend this metaphor of the body, we might construe political communication in the absolutist state as the circulatory system (of the blood), with decisions emanating from the centre and flowing to all specialized organs and cells of the body, while information, petitions, suggestions, and criticism flow back. The sovereign (head) would make all decisions and give purpose to the whole organism. As far as the Danish absolutist state is concerned, the royal signature merged the king as a person and sovereign into one: the principal distinction between private and public pertained to the body politic, not the individual subject. Royal decisions emanating from the centre were in general public or open, so that the subjects could see, understand, and obey them. All elements going into a decision, like information, petitions, suggestions, and criticism, belonged to what was private or closed to the public. Within the absolutist body politic, censorship had the system-specific function of preventing what was private or closed from seeping into the open representative public sphere. Though some individual subjects might have expressed sentiments suggestive of the modern distinctions between private and public domains, these distinctions received no acknowledgment from the absolutist government.[3]

This chapter has three parts. First, I will show how the Danish government exercised firm control over the representative public sphere through strict laws and a tight supervision of all points of access. The purpose was to exclude all things incongruent with or subversive to the absolutist monarchy—for instance, opinions that contradicted royal resolutions. Second, I will outline a more 'corporate' or inclusive channel of political communication between the king and his subjects—namely, the institutional arrangements that integrated petitions and state administration. This channel allowed individual subjects to engage critically with the government, but in a way that was not transparent to the public: petitions went in and decisions came out with no disclosure of the deliberations that informed those decisions. Third, I will show how these two communicative structures comprised an integrated absolutist system of political communication.

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2 The image of state as a body politic represents a standard late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century idealized metaphorical description of a sovereign political entity. See, for instance, Quentin Skinner, 'A Genealogy of the Modern State', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 162 (2009), pp. 328–330.

3 Property could in actual terms be considered private, but in absolutist theory its status was more problematic. In the legal system, one frequently employed penalty was the loss of all property other than land (*boslodd*): implicitly, citizens were leasing their property from the king.

Control through Censorship

The Danish government maintained its firm control over its representative public sphere through censorship. Established during the Reformation, the basic organizational features of government censorship of printed material shows a remarkable level of persistence up to the short period of print freedom in 1770–1771. Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus, a close associate of Martin Luther, assisted King Christian III in drafting the 'Church Ordinance' of 1537/1539, which outlined the principles upon which censorship would be based for more than two centuries.[4] The ordinance prescribed pre-publication censorship, with the university acting as the primary censoring institution. The bishops served in an advisory role. Censorship applied not only to domestic publication, but also to imported books. Subjects singled out for special attention in the ordinance were matters of faith (religion), governing (politics) and 'housekeeping' (economic administration). In other words, the ordinance singled out theology, politics, and economics as subjects where maintaining strict government control was particularly important.[5]

The government could also manage these specially designated and legally defined fields of knowledge epistemologically through the administration of censorship. These fields were not only defined in content along the contrasting lines of legal/illegal. They were also subjected to an administrative delimitation; texts or parts of texts were defined within the process of censoring as belonging to a specific category of knowledge or a subject. Most adjustments to these categories were gradual and almost imperceptible. However, sometimes significant epistemological shifts occurred. These more noticeable shifts enable us to trace how the government actively managed the knowledge system through censorship.

One such shift is the change in policy towards witchcraft at the end of the seventeenth century. While previously the Danish population had believed in witchcraft, by the end of the century early Enlightenment criticism of such beliefs as mere superstition had persuaded most theologians at the University of Copenhagen and leading members of the government. In 1700 a conflict broke out between the different faculties of the university.[6] The bone of

4 M.S. Lausten (ed.), *Kirkeordinansen, Ordinatio Ecclesiastica Regnorum Daniæ et Norwegiæ et Ducatuum Sleswicensis Holtsatiæ* [*etc.*] (Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, 1989), pp. 230–231.

5 M.S. Lausten, *Christian den 3. og kirken 1537–1559* (Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, 1987), pp. 207–210.

6 The book in question was Johan Brunsmand, *En liden, kort og enfolding Erklæring: om noget Kiøge-Huus-Kaarsis Historie, angaaendis: dennem til Behag, som elske Sandhed* (Kiøbenhafn

contention was whose responsibility it was to give his *imprimatur* to a book that seemingly upheld the notion that witchcraft existed. The debate illustrates how this field of knowledge was undergoing formal redefinition in the process of moving from theology to history.[7] Aligning the government's new view on witchcraft with the existing organization of censorship meant adjusting administrative boundaries of jurisdiction, and the administrative change in turn formalized a change in state policy. Since the authorization was published along with the book, the name of the authorizing professor and his corresponding field would appear in print for all to see. However, in this particular case none of the professors wanted to jeopardize their international reputations by having their names associated with the book. As a solution to this deadlock, the chancellor ordered the court chaplain to give the book the necessary approval. The government no longer viewed witchcraft as actually existing in the world. By consequence the chancellor transferred responsibility for censoring the subject from theology to history. This incident demonstrates how the government sometimes had to make adjustments to the organization of censorship to accommodate shifts in the knowledge system. And by making these adjustments, the government signalled the changed view to the public.

When absolute monarchy was established in Denmark–Norway through a royal coup in 1660/1661, it created the foundation of what has generally been considered one of the most autocratic states in Europe.[8] Several factors make this state special and also particularly interesting as a case study in absolutism. A latecomer among the absolute states of Europe, Denmark–Norway had a written constitution (albeit one that was secret until 1709, when it was published), the Danish Royal Law (the *Lex Regia*). One effect of this constitution was to establish relative continuity in the kingdom's principles of government.[9]

From the perspective of an absolutist system of communication, two aspects of the *Lex Regia* are particularly important: the provision in § 26 requiring

[Copenhagen], 1700). On the case in general, see Anders Bæksted, *Køge huskers/ Johan Brunsmand; med indledning og noter ved Anders Bægsted* (Copenhagen, 1953), pp. 70–75, and Tyge Krogh, 'Oplysningen og det magiske: henrettelser og korporlige straffe i 1700–tallets første halvdel' (diss., Copenhagen, 2000), pp. 122–123. On censoring specifically, see Henning Matzen, *Københavns Universitets Retshistorie* (2 Vols., Copenhagen, 1879) I. 217; Camillus Nyrop, *Bidrag til den danske Boghandels Historie* (Copenhagen, 1870), p. 197.

7 The imprimatur was a "placet" authorizing the manuscript to be printed. It was generally placed opposite the title page and usually included the name of the censoring professor.

8 Leon Jespersen (ed.), *A Revolution from Above? The Power State of 16th and 17th Century Scandinavia* (Odense, Odense University Press, 2000), pp. 45, 56.

9 For the Lex Regia in English translation, see Ernst Ekman, 'The Royal Danish Law of 1665', *Journal of Modern History,* 29 (1957).

anyone presenting him (and as a sovereign, his rule) in the most favourable light, and another provision in § 7, which required that all government decisions receive the king's personal signature.[10] The first point pertained to the public's ability to criticize the monarch and his rule, and the second pertained to the king's role as the fulcrum of all political communication.[11] By stipulating that the king literally sign all agreements, the law provided an important safeguard against the civil service usurping royal power. But as became apparent in the famous example of the royal physician Struensee—who effectively ruled the state by means of controlling the signature of the mentally unstable Christian VII—, this safeguard was by no means fool-proof.[12]

Following the introduction of absolutism in 1660, a comprehensive revision of the legislation immediately commenced in order to reconcile existing laws with the new system of government and to make the legal system more uniform.[13] It would take more than twenty years to carry this ambitious project of codification to completion: the resulting statute books were Christian V's *Danske Lov* (Danish Code) of 1683 and *Norske Lov* (Norwegian Code) of 1687 [CVDL/CVNL].[14] This codification was an essential development that enhanced the dual character of the law. On the one hand, it acted as an expression of absolute royal representation, with the king exercising the most distinguished of his *jura majestatis*, that of legislator. But on the other hand, within this rep-

10 The relevant section of the long § 26 states "that the king of Denmark and Norway is a free and most highly empowered absolute hereditary king, so that all that can be said or written about an absolute, sovereign, Christian, hereditary monarch shall, in the most gracious and best sense, be interpreted to apply completely to the absolute hereditary king of Denmark and Norway…." In § 7 we read, "All of the commissions, charters, and directives of the government shall be issued under no other name but the king's and under his seal, and he shall always sign with his own hand, provided he has attained his majority." Ekman, 'The Royal Danish Law of 1665', p. 106.

11 This interpretation deviates somewhat from the standard interpretation of Knud Fabricius, *Kongeloven. Dens tilblivelse og plads I samtidens natur-og arveretlige udvikling. En historisk undersøgelse* (Copenhagen, 1971 [1920]), p. 326.

12 On the safeguards against civil service in the Lex Regia, see Sebastian Olden Jørgensen, 'Enevoldsarveregeringsakten og Kongeloven. Forfatningsspørgsmålet i Danmark fra oktober 1660 til November 1665', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 16.2 (Copenhagen, 1993). This work contains a short summary in English.

13 By the Royal decree of 26 January 1661. Prebensen and Smith, *Forarbeiderne til Kong Christian den Femtes norske Lov* (Christiania, J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1887), pp. XV–XVI.

14 Available online: <http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/forskning/prosjekter/tingbok/kilder/chr5web/>. CVNL 2.21.1-6 and CVDL 2.20.1–6. The texts were identical in the Norwegian and the Danish Law.

resentation the law at the same time regulated the terms of access and flow of communication. Censorship was essential in preventing widespread public access to any printed expressions of untoward sentiments. In effect, by severely limiting any form of criticism in print that had any political implications, the censors severely restricted horizontal mass-communication between members of society, thereby obstructing the formation of public opinion. And since all legitimate political power rested with the king, vertical communication patterns on political subjects in print and writing enjoyed an almost complete hegemony over horizontal ones.

Changes in Censorship

Denmark–Norway's transition to an absolutist monarchy did not change the basic organization of censorship. In general, censorship continued to follow the organizational principles outlined in the 1539 church ordinance: those responsible for reviewing manuscripts were primarily university faculty members from the relevant fields, who could ensure the quality of each review. However, all printed works concerning royal sovereignty, the government, or economic administration and policy were to be censored by whomever the king so designated. In reality, these topics were off-limits to anyone but a few highly trusted men. (In the eighteenth century, this often meant professors of law.) The penal provisions were exceedingly vague and in principle barred no punishment in the absolutist state's well-stocked arsenal.

There is no doubt that the statutes on censorship in *Danske Lov* made the representative character of the public sphere more pronounced and increased the absolutist government's legal means by which to exert control over publishing. The fact that the government had the legal means at its disposal does not, however, mean that it had the capacity or even the will to enforce them. The question of the government's capacity to exert control over printers has been a disputed issue in the historiography of other European countries, notably in France and Britain. Despite recorded instances of printers being cautioned by the authorities for transgressions, the issue of the government's capacity to control printers has not been similarly disputed among historians in Denmark and Norway. The main reason for this is that most printing presses were located in the capital, Copenhagen. Proximity to central government institutions, and a strict regulation of printers through the government-issued licenses that all printers needed to legally establish their enterprises, facilitated the government's ability to exercise control.

However, despite all the means at the government's disposal, its willingness to employ them changed over time. Until 1720, evidence indicates that

censorship prevented many manuscripts from seeing the light of day. In the decade that followed, however, several books were published without a university imprimatur, in a possible sign of declining royal vigilance.[15] As the case of censoring the book on witchcraft shows, changes in how a specific topic was assessed by the government could occur. On minor issues, this undoubtedly happened from time to time. However, clear signs indicate that in the 1720s the censor generally tolerated more criticism (especially of the government) than was previously the case. In a political system as centralized and authoritarian as the absolutist state of Denmark–Norway, such a higher toleration of criticism by the censors would not be possible without the king's acceptance.

Moreover, starting in the 1720s, an increasing number of printers received permission to work in provincial towns throughout the kingdoms publishing prints without *imprimatur* by the university. The distance between several of these provincial towns and the university in Copenhagen, where, by law, all manuscripts had to go through the censor, represented a serious impediment to business. For a time, the provincial printers seem to have managed to avoid sending non-controversial print material to the capital for censoring, while at the same time the government apparently did little to enforce the law. By the end of the 1730s the government had abandoned this policy of tacit tolerance, however. As a pragmatic solution to the problem of geographical distance between many provincial towns and the capital, the government began issuing censorship privileges to the provincial printers, allowing them to have their manuscripts censored by the bishop and headmaster of their local cathedral school. In this way the state could re-establish control over all printed material.[16]

The reign of Christian VI (1730–1746) has traditionally been regarded as a return to a more repressive regime.[17] But although the king's personal sympathy for the Pietist movement meant that the regime was less open to frivolous excesses (like the theatre), the monarchy nevertheless softened its control over history-writing and promoted arts and sciences, while also implementing reforms intended to increase the population's reading skills. All in all, censor-

15 J. L. Rohmann, *Udsigt over Trykkefrihedens Historie i Danmark, fra Bogtrykkerkonstens Opfindelse indtil Kong Frederik den Fjerdes Død 1730* (Odense, 1841), pp. 67–73; Harald Ilsøe, 'Historisk censur i Danmark indtil Holberg', *Fund og Forskning* 20 (1973).

16 Jakob Maliks, 'Imprimatur i provinsen—sensuren av det trykte ord utenfor København 1737–1770', Eivind Tjønneland (ed.), *Kritikk før 1814: 1700–tallets politiske og litterære offentlighet* (Oslo, Dreyer, 2014).

17 Øystein Rian, 'Sensuren i Danmark–Norge 1536–1814', in Hilde Sandvik (ed.), *Demokratisk teori og historisk praksis* (Oslo, Spartacus, 2010).

ship politics varied in the first fifty years of absolutism. Despite its strongly representative character, the king's administration of the public sphere responded to changes in society such as those affecting the knowledge system and responded pragmatically to the problems of the long distance provincial printers faced when they were licensed to establish their business in towns far from the capital.

Challenging Censorship: Organization

One such change in the society's knowledge system was the emergence of enlightened scholarly and scientific societies' transactions. This type of publications appeared throughout Europe from the late seventeenth century and presented special challenges to the way censorship was regulated. Inspired by the scientific and scholarly academies in Paris, London and Stockholm, a royal academy was established in Copenhagen in 1742, later known as The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. The new academy naturally aimed to publish its own series of transactions, as all good learned societies should. But the statutes on censorship had to be taken into account. Professor Hans Gram, who wrote the first draft of the society's by-laws, suggested that the members of the Royal Society should censor themselves prior to publishing the transaction. In his draft he carefully designed the organization of the self-censoring in such a way that it as far as possible would follow to the spirit of the law.[18] And since the society's president would be a man 'of high authority', his final approval would be equivalent to a direct government sanction, and therefore the society's review process would comply with the law. In the final draft revision of the society's by-laws, the suggested section on censoring the transactions was omitted on the initiative of the president-to-be. It is highly likely that he found this procedure too cumbersome, especially since the tracts were to be presented orally prior to publishing, at the society's meetings (which would take place in his own home).

A royal society with a series of transactions belonged to the inventory of the representative public sphere of all truly enlightened absolutist rulers. The lack of a royal society would be detrimental to the very essence of representation—if the other civilized enlightened rulers have a society, the thinking went, so must we.[19] Especially since the Swedish king had established a Royal Society in

18 Asgeir Lomholt, *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab 1742–1942* (5 vols., Copenhagen, 1942), I. 10–18.

19 The relative aspect of representation was even codified in the Danish Royal Law of 1665, § XXVI. "Should there be anything else that was not specifically stated in the foregoing

1739, the regime in Copenhagen knew that many would view the absence of such a society in Denmark–Norway as a deficiency. Even if the motivation for establishing a royal society was strong, how to organize censorship of transactions within the limits of the law was a matter treated with great caution. What this example illustrates is how seriously the regime took its responsibility for abiding by the letter of the law on censorship.

Twenty years later, another scientific and scholarly society in the provincial city of Trondheim, in the Norwegian part of the twin kingdom, also encountered problems in organizing the censorship process for its periodical. As we have seen, responsibility for censorship was divided up by subject, following the organization of faculties at the university. The theological faculty was responsible for censoring religious manuscripts, while the philosophical faculty censored secular manuscripts. Political subjects fell directly to the government (in practice this often meant review by one of the law professors). Within each faculty, the different professors were responsible for their respective subjects. The main criterion for being a censor was to be qualified to review the submitted manuscript. Censoring scientific and scholarly periodicals was often more complicated because they often contained a variety of treatises on subjects ranging from theology and history to geology and philology.

As a consequence of the multidisciplinarity of the enlightened scientific and scholarly periodical, manuscripts submitted for censoring at the university were first divided up; each treatise was then sent to the appropriate faculty and submitted to the corresponding faculty's dean. The dean of each faculty in turn delivered each treatise to the appropriate reviewing faculty member. This process meant that an edition of any given scientific and scholarly periodical was likely to have several censors from several different faculties reviewing his section of the periodical's manuscript, each at his own pace. This arrangement naturally caused troubling delays, as some of the censors worked very slowly.

A petition submitted to the king by the scientific society in Trondheim, Norway, in 1762 provides an example of how one society attempted to get around such problems. The society's petition stressed the challenges of having

about the power of absolute dominion and majesty, the sum total can be briefly comprehended in these few but pithy words: that the king of Denmark and Norway is a free and most highly empowered absolute hereditary king, so that all that can be said or written about an absolute sovereign, Christian, hereditary monarch shall, in the most gracious and best sense, be interpreted to apply completely to the absolute hereditary king of Denmark and Norway…." Ekman, 'The Royal Danish Law of 1665', p. 106. But the 'enlightened' absolute monarch needed to surround himself with the trappings of enlightened absolutism, like royal societies.

their transactions censored by different professors; as a solution to this difficulty, the members proposed that the Bishop of Trondheim (rather than the university at Copenhagen), who was already authorized to censor manuscripts for the local printer, also be authorized to censor the transactions.

The standards placed on scientific and scholarly journals by an enlightened public were standards few local printers could meet. For one thing, the society needed illustrations in the form of accurate, high-quality, copper engravings, and all of the most accomplished engravers worked in Copenhagen. Copper engravings required specialized equipment that the local printer simply did not possess. Members of the Trondheim society had previously tried to solve this problem by having books printed locally, but with engravings that had been prepared in Copenhagen.[20] However, this process was very cumbersome and made it necessary for the publisher to organize and coordinate the different elements in the periodical's production over a long distance. The society requested that the bishop, who happened to be one of its leading members, be given the authority to censor the transactions locally, after which they would be printed in Copenhagen. The king granted this request, effectively authorizing the society to censor its own publications. Later, the society also received royal protection as The Royal Norwegian Society of Science and Letters.[21]

In fact, the society in Trondheim was not the only institution that was allowed to censor itself. Several other scholarly societies and institutions of higher learning enjoyed similar arrangements.[22] A pattern emerged in which, rather than change the laws governing censorship, the government created special deals with various learned institutions, granting them permission to censor themselves. However, this pragmatic solution represented an exception to the censorship law with regard to organization, but not content. The government's pragmatism over how censorship was *organized* did not necessarily mean that it showed a similar pragmatic stance on the review of *content*.

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20 Gerhard Schøning, *Beskrivelse over tilforn meget prægtige og vidberømte Dom-Kirke i Throndhjem: egentligen kaldet Christ-Kirken* (Trondheim, Tapir akademisk forlag, 2004 [1762]). Facsimile edition.

21 Haakon With Andersen et al. (eds.), *Æmula Lauri. The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters, 1760–2009* (Sagamore Beach, Science History Publications, 2009).

22 For instance, The Royal Society for Nordic History and Language, established in Copenhagen in 1745. E. C. Werlauff, *Det Kongelige Danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie og Sprog, i det første Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen, 1747). Another example was The Academy of Sorø. See Max Ebert, *Bogtrykkerne ved Sorø Akademi* (Copenhagen, 1988). See especially pp. 72–74.

Challenging Censorship: Content

While the university censored religious and non-political secular manuscripts, the king chose who would censor manuscripts designated as political or economic in content. The government's role in deciding who would censor manuscripts on political subjects sometimes involved trade-offs and unforeseen consequences.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the government's views on the value of public discourse changed in relation to the subject of economics.[23] Knowledge of technology and economics among the population was seen as vital for the state's economic performance.[24] But in order to make this knowledge available, it was necessary to make use of the public sphere. Two functions of public discourse were seen as vital: disseminating knowledge, and improving knowledge through critical discourse.[25] Allowing critical discourse in public would result in exposure to different arguments and allow the strongest arguments to prevail. The expected result would be not just more knowledge, but knowledge of increasingly higher quality and relevance. The practice of employing the public sphere for disseminating useful knowledge was well established, especially with regard to religious knowledge. But critical discussions on economics were a novelty and challenged established norms on the content of public discourse.

The dominant economic paradigm in Denmark–Norway at the time was cameralism, the German version of mercantilism.[26] A central feature of cameralism was the detailed control of economic life through different acts of legislation. Allowing critical discourse on economics would inevitably lead to criticism of legislation regulating the economy, and since all acts of legislation had to be signed by the king personally, any criticism of legislation would apply to the sovereign as well, thereby challenging his authority. Precisely for this reason, public discussions on questions of sovereignty, politics, and economics had not been previously allowed in print.

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23 Jakob Maliks, *Vilkår for offentlighet. Sensur, økonomi og transformasjonen av det offentlige rom i Danmark–Norge 1730–1770* (diss., NTNU, 2011).

24 Cf. Tortarolo's contribution in this volume for the development in France of gradually allowing a public discourse on economy.

25 Erik Pontoppidan, [*En Opfordring til at forene sig om Skribentvirksomhed: Kgl. Indbydelse til at indsende almennyttige økonomiske og fysiske Afhandlinger til Grev A.G. Moltke*] (Copenhagen, 1755).

26 Erik Oxenbøll, *Dansk økonomisk tænkning 1700–1770*, Publication 11 (Københavns Universitet. Institutt for økonomisk historie, 1977).

The dilemma facing the government was clear: allowing critical discourse on economics for the purpose of enhancing the state's financial resources would inevitably jeopardize royal authority. The state resolved the problem by establishing a government-subsidized periodical under the supervision of a highly dependable editor: *Denmark and Norway's Economic Magazine,* with Erik Pontoppidan, the pro-chancellor of the university, at the helm.[27] Published annually between 1757 and 1764, this journal created a forum for critical discourse, but within tightly controlled limits.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, there were few signs that the government might be willing to relinquish control over printed material. When challenges arose, the government responded with special solutions and privileges. Printed critical discourse on political and economic topics was still severely restricted. However, in the case of subjects with no direct political relevance, the new government under Frederik V (1746–1766) was more liberal. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the absolutist public sphere of Denmark and Norway still did not allow discussion of political matters. That does not, however, imply that criticism as such was completely banned: it only meant that criticism was channelled through another institutional arrangement—the petition.

The Corporate Channel

The royal signature was the pivotal point of all legitimate authority in the absolutist state. As a consequence, whoever had access (directly or indirectly) to the royal signature could influence state policy. In principle, all the king's subjects had that right by law, through the process of submitting a petition. This 'corporate' channel was the main tool for subjects to legally influence government policy in the first half of the eighteenth century; the channel provided, in effect, a tiered hierarchy of access. At the base level was the standard system of submitting petitions. The system of ranks can be regarded as a middle tier, allowing for privileged, fast-track access to a royal favour. The titles of the positions within the system of ranks mimic the functions of the top tier, the king's court.

27 Erik Pontoppidan, *Danmarks og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin, befattende en Blanding af adskillige velsindende Patrioters indsendte smaa Skrifter, angaaende den muelige Forbedring i Ager- og Have-Dyrkning, Skov-Plantning, Mineral-Brug, Hus-Bygning, Fae-Avling, Fiskerie, Fabrik-Væsen og selsige- Denem til Tieneste, som almindelig Velfærds Befordring* (7 Vols., Copenhagen, 1757–1764).


Danmarks og Norges
Oeconomiske
Magazin,
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Fabrik-Væsen og deslige.
Dennem til Tieneste, som elske almindelig Velfærds Befordring.

Det første Bind.
Kiøbenhavn 1757, trykt af Andreas Hartvig Godiche, og findes hos hannem tilkiøbs næst ved vor Frue-Skole.

ILLUSTRATION 7.1 *The 1755-invitation issued by the government encouraging all patriotic citizens to submit essays on economic matters for publication resulted in the annual journal* Danmarks og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin *(1757–1764), edited by bishop and pro-chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, Erik Pontoppidan.*

The practice of writing petitions probably evolved in the Nordic context from the Things of the Middle Ages (local and regional diets), where subjects could present their grievances and wishes to directly the king or to the person representing the king. Starting at the end of the sixteenth century, this custom gradually became regulated by law.[28] The different statutes were, as was the case with the regulations on censorship, collected in CVDL/NL 1683–87. As a practice evolving from the judiciary, these statutes were placed in the section on the courts.[29]

The statutes regulating petitions are comparable to the mechanisms for regulating freedom of speech in modern societies. In principle, all subjects were entitled to submit petitions to the king, but only on matters of direct concern to them (the supplicants). This restriction had the purpose of preventing 'misuse' of the right to petition for organized campaigns or agitation against a specific government policy. Local officials or others who obstructed a supplicant exercising his right to petition, or who sought revenge upon the supplicant after the petition was submitted, could face penalties. Complaints about and open criticism of royal decisions were treated as a challenge to royal sovereignty and were therefore prohibited. But complaining about a difficult or detrimental situation that arose as a consequence of a given regulation was not prohibited. Neither was critique of misuse of power and office by local and regional state officials. In other words, petitions were a channel for communicating criticism, but only within specific limits.

The essential aspect of this communicative channel is its function in the absolutist state. Beyond the importance of any individual petition or even the sum of all petitions, these communicative structures combined initiative, information, and criticism originating from different locations within the state; they also served as a basis for royal decisions. In addition, since everyone, at least in principle, had access to the king, the petition served to legitimize absolutist rule.

Denmark and Norway differed significantly in the degree to which ordinary, non-privileged subjects enjoyed access to the king. In Denmark nearly all

28 Steinar Supphellen, 'Supplikken som institusjon i norsk historie. Framvokster og bruk særleg først på 1700–tallet', *Heimen* (1978); Michael Bregnsbo, *Folk skriver til kongen. Supplikkerne og ders funktion i den dansk–norske enevælde i 1700–tallet* (Copenhagen, Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1997); Karl Peder Pedersen, *Enevældens amtmænd* (Jurist og Økonomiforbundets Forlag, Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 226–241; Harald Gustafsson, *Political Interaction in the Old Regime,* (Lund, Studentlitteratur, 1994), pp. 107–118.

29 <http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/forskning/prosjekter/tingbok/kilder/chr5web/chr5_01_24.html>.

peasants were legally tied to manorial estates, where they were born and lived subordinated to the jurisdiction of manorial lords (*birkeretter*). In the mountainous and thinly populated Norway, this mode of organizing agriculture did not play a significant role. More than half the farming population comprised either freeholders with allodial rights to their farms, or tenant farmers with copyhold or heritable leases. One of the consequences of this organizational difference was that in Denmark a politically influential and powerful group of manorial lords with legal jurisdiction over their peasants functioned as a buffer intercepting potential conflicts.[30] What most likely troubled peasants the most—the conditions under the manorial lord—was in general not a matter in which the king could or would intervene without jeopardizing a relationship on which the stability of the state depended. In Norway, petitions functioned as institutional arrangements with a more comprehensive role in the power structure than in Denmark, where most peasants had no real possibility of petitioning the sovereign. So, while Denmark–Norway is generally considered the most absolute of all absolutist states in Europe, impediments for exercising absolute power were not evenly distributed among the different parts of this conglomerate state. In the Kingdom of Norway, royal power encountered few formal impediments in terms of powerful social groups (like the Danish manorial lords, who were able to defend traditional rights and jurisdictions against absolutist rule). It is even reasonable to hypothesize that absolutist rule in Norway comes about as close as possible in real history to eighteenth-century absolutist rule in its purest form. Norway is therefore extraordinarily well-suited for an inductive case study in the absolutist system of communication. By the same methodological argument, it would clearly serve as a less suitable example of how actual political communication occurred in most absolutist states.

According to the CVNL, a petitioner had first to notify the local or regional authorities of his intention to forward a petition; next the petitioner had to indicate the contents of the petition. The civil servant wrote an accompanying letter describing the circumstances surrounding the matter. If the supplicant could not write himself, he had the right to have the county judge write it for him. A civil servant who in any way obstructed the process of submitting a petition would be committing an explicitly illegal act for which there were heavy penalties. The law allowed for one significant exception to the mandatory requirement that a local authority be notified of a petition. If the petition was a complaint that pertained to a local or regional official, the supplicant

30 Ole Feldbæk, *Nærhed og adskillelse 1720–1814,* in *Danmark–Norge 1380–1814,* (4 vols., Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1998), IV. 65.

could forward it directly to king without any notification by the local authority. In an absolutist state, the king embodied the function of public opinion and was also the sole legitimate political authority who could alleviate the concerns raised in a petition. Through this communicative channel the king concentrated sovereignty in his hands and rendered criticism within the public sphere both unnecessary and seditious. Citizens had no power to question or change the organization of society, but they did have a channel through which they could submit their petitions and state their grievances. Not surprisingly, the number of petitions rose dramatically from the 1680s through the eighteenth century, though not, as noted by Michael Bregnsbo, at a steady pace.[31]

Historians, including those focusing on Nordic countries, have since the 1970s shown an increasing interest in petitions as an institutionalized form of political communication particular to early modern society. Research on this subject has tended to focus on the volume of petitions, the different levels of access accorded to various social groups, and procedural questions. In general this research presupposes clear distinctions between the general population and the civil service. From the population's standpoint, and in view of parts of this institution's legal framework, this approach may seem warranted. If, however, petitioning is seen as an integrated element in the royal decision-making process, the sharp division between population and civil service may not be so clearly justified. This is in line with the approach Harald Gustafsson takes when analysing different aspects of the political-administrative decision-making process in eighteenth-century Nordic societies.[32] The royal decision, however, was in general public. So, to understand the role of petitions in the decision-making process, it is necessary to integrate the function of the representative public sphere in the analysis.

A related kind of communication was the administrative memorial, or *pro memoria*. Originating either as the result of a personal or administrative initiative, or in response to a government inquiry, the *pro memoria* could outline problems with state policies on the local, regional, or even state level. Its significance lay in its ability to offer criticism that was not officially considered a secret, even though it did not become public knowledge.

Rank as a System of Preferential Access

The fine-meshed and well-ordered system of ranks was an institutionalized expression of Denmark–Norway's preferential system of access to the highest

31 Bregnsbo, *Folk skriver til kongen.*

32 Gustafsson, *Political Interaction in the Old Regime*, pp. 112–115.

authority.[33] Titles, and their place or grade in the system, were in general based on the hierarchy of court and the state bureaucracy. And, since the king and court were at the top of this hierarchy, it expresses grades of proximity to the king. Furthermore, many of the titles entailed both a court function and a bureaucratic affiliation and function. Thus, for instance, the title of *kammerråd* contained two sections, *kammer* and *råd*, which would translate as something like 'chamber' and 'councilor'. The chamber in question was the chamber of the exchequer, and the title was bestowed as an expression of royal trust. Now obviously, the *kammerråd*, was much less prominent than the *kammerherre* (chamberlain), who was attached to the chambers at court. The sign or symbol of this higher position was a golden key, symbolizing access to the king's chambers and thereby a high level of trust. So when P.F. Suhm, a noble with the rank of *etatzråd* [third class; seventh place],[34] in 1762 submitted an application to the king to permit the bishop of Trondheim to censor what would be named *The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters' scientific Periodical* in Trondheim, permission was not only granted, but formulated in the most gracious tone reserved for people of high rank: "We, Friderich the Fifth by the grace of God King to Denmark and Norway…make it be known to all, that, as *Us lovable* [Os elskelig] Peter Friderich Suhm, Our Etatz-Raad…."[35] The phrasing 'Us lovable' serves as an expression of familiarity, closeness, and trust.

Generally speaking, the system of ranks does not represent a completely separate system of access to the king. A more suitable analogy would probably be to view it as a privileged, fast-track means of gaining royal attention. For example, even Suhm's request was subject to the standard procedure of gathering information and viewpoints from the affected institution (in this case the University of Copenhagen).

An Absolutist Communicative System

Of all systems of government, absolutism is probably the one most vulnerable and most liable to criticism (that is, it would be if criticism were allowed). The

33 For the establishment of the system of ranks, see Niels G. Bartholdy, 'Adelsbegrebet under den ældre enevælde. Sammenhængen med privilegier og rang i tiden 1665–1730', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 5.12 (Copenhagen, 1971). Peter Henningsen, 'Den bestandige maskerade. Standssamfund, rangsamfund og det 18. århundredes honette kultur', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 2 (Copenhagen, 2001).

34 Nicolaus Rohlfs, *K öniglich Dänischer Hof- und Staats-Kalender, Auf das 1740 Jahr Christi* (Altona 1740).

35 Archive of the The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters, Gunnerus Library, Trondheim, VS Brevarkiv 1760–1810 (Gunnerus 1760–1775).

absolutist state projects its power to the world, but it also assumes responsibility for conditions within society. An absolute state that dismissed this moral obligation would become subject to accusations of tyranny: absolute power carries with it the responsibility for everything that cannot be explained away as the actions of evil people or the result of divine Providence.

Formal royal decisions came in many forms, such as statutes, ordinances, rescripts, and privileges. A common denominator was their public, open, and representative character. As such they composed the basic structure of the representative public sphere. Other types of royal communication were not open or public in this sense, like for instance the more secretive 'missive', a closed administrative letter carrying instructions to a specific government official. The king's signature, the centrepiece of all political communication, served as an activation switch: it made propositions and recommendations legally binding and enforceable by courts. The Royal Law of 1665 reflects an awareness of the threat the bureaucracy posed to royal sovereignty. To avoid such influences or pressures, whatever went into the royal decision-making process belonged to the private side of the body politic. However, once a decision had been made, it became open to the public and enforceable by the administration and courts. What resulted was an interconnected system of decision-making that, when animated, created a circulatory pattern. The king made public his decisions regulating society. Society (i.e. both the population in general and the bureaucracy) responded with complaints and indirect criticism through the 'corporate' channel, which in turn generated new and presumably better legislation. The wheel of absolutist decision-making turned at a slow pace, but it provided a considerable degree of stability and predictability for all parties, at the same time serving to legitimize the system of government.

The main purpose of government censorship was (and still is, where the practice continues) to prevent unwanted opinions or information from being published and thus becoming public knowledge. A key to understanding the function of censorship in Denmark–Norway in the first half of the eighteenth century is to analyse it as an essential element of absolute rule. However, it was not, as in other autocratic states, simply a means for the government to restrict the dissemination of unwelcome utterances—it was also an essential tool in maintaining the circulatory pattern of political communication. Censorship functioned as the wall separating the open representative public sphere from the 'corporate' administrative channel. Censoring speech prevented the elements behind the decision-making process from becoming public. As a consequence, the representative public sphere remained apolitical, and royal political decisions were presented as truths to the population. The elements that presented the greatest potential challenge to this apolitical state were criticism and discord.

Conclusion

At the centre of the absolutist system of political communication was the king, whose control over the flow of political communication was essential to his legitimacy and to the stability of the state. The incoming elements in the king's decision-making process, most notably petitions, informed the outgoing flow of decisions (laws and decrees). The 'valves' preventing 'backflow' in this circulatory system were censorship, which prevented the flow of criticism through the corporate channel from reaching the public sphere. None of the facts or reasoning that entered into a decision was allowed to become public without proper authorisation.

Through this functional division, a circulatory pattern of decision-making emerged: the king made decisions, and these had consequences for his subjects, who could petition the king if a decision proved detrimental to their welfare. The civil servant receiving the petition wrote a note contextualizing the issue concerned for the central authorities. Before making a recommendation, the central authorities could obtain additional information by making inquiries on the matter to other government agencies or to local or regional officials. When satisfied, the authorities would make a decision and notify the public. If substantial arguments against the original decision arose, the authorities could change the decision and repeat the process. This circulatory pattern of communication secured a high degree of political stability in the Danish absolutist state, but at price: stability brought with it a significant degree of inertia.

CHAPTER 8

The Urge to Write: Spectator Journalists Negotiating Freedom of the Press in Denmark–Norway

Ellen Krefting

The ideal of freedom of thought and expression is a crucial part of the Enlightenment legacy, closely tied to the idea of enlightenment itself. Christen Pram, the editor of the weekly journal *Minerva* in Copenhagen, clearly points to this connection in a piece published in February 1792, where he defends "freedom of thought, freedom of speech and of the press" as the indispensable condition for "the expansion of civil enlightenment", conceived as "the collection of sound and precise concepts and knowledge that can be useful to man as man and as citizen in general, regardless of his individual rank or occupation".[1] Freedom of the press ensures that truth is no longer monopolized by the state or any other single authority. Pram saw periodicals as an important venue for expressing and publicizing truths that are useful to society: he therefore called for an increase in the number of journals in Denmark–Norway and argued for their importance in producing enlightened, virtuous, and happy citizens.

There was, however, no such thing as a single idea of either freedom of expression or freedom of the press in the eighteenth century. The principle of freedom of expression as a personal liberty and individual right that surfaced in continental Europe with the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 followed a series of arguments and debates on various degrees of press freedom. The ideas raised were intended to serve a range of good purposes. The complex history of these discussions reveals that the ideal of freedom of expression is no single manifestation of Enlightenment thinking, whatever the variety (e.g. Lockean; Kantian or Christian; moderate or radical, to use Jonathan Israel's distinction).[2] The Dutch historian Joris van

1 Christen Pram, 'Noget om Oplysning, med et velmeent Ønske om borgerlig Oplysnings større Udbredelse', *Minerva. Et Maanedsskrift*, 27 (Copenhagen, February 1792), p. 272.

2 See Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001); *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man, 1650–1752* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2008); *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2009); 'Libertas Philosophandi in the Eighteenth Century: Radical Enlightenment versus Moderate Enlighenment (1750–1776)', in Elizabeth Powers (ed.), *Freedom of Speech. The History of an Idea* (Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2011), in addition to Israel's chapter in the present volume.

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Eijnatten has identified several different categories of arguments supporting freedom of expression in England and Holland in the eighteenth century: Christian, cultural, educational, nationalist, commercial, political, and utility-centred—alongside arguments appearing later that were based upon human rights.[3] Other countries, including Denmark–Norway, certainly witnessed a similar range of arguments.

Starting in the late seventeenth century the twin monarchy gained a reputation as the most perfect absolutist regime in Europe, founded on a written absolutist constitution, the *Lex Regia* of 1665.[4] As Jacob Maliks showed in his chapter, absolutist rule entailed a rigid system of privilege and pre- and post-publication censorship for the purpose of keeping close control over the press and book and periodical publications. These censorship policies prevailed in the eighteenth century, with the addition of more regulatory decrees, until Struensee, in the name of the mentally ill King Christian VII, famously declared complete 'freedom of writing' in 1770, creating a paradigm of enlightened absolutism.[5]

Struensee's abolition of censorship can be seen as a result of his radical intellectual bent. But arguments for freedom of the press as a 'civic liberty' within the absolutist monarchy as well as ideas about a monarchic rule guided by public opinion had also circulated among less radical figures in Denmark–Norway for some time. One example is a professor of political science at the Academy of Sorø, Jens Schielderup Sneedorff, who in his work from 1757 *Om den*

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3 Joris van Eijnatten, 'In Praise of Moderate Enlightenment: A Taxonomy of Early Modern Arguments in Favor of Freedom of Expression', in Elizabeth Powers (ed.), *Freedom of Speech*.

4 The former British ambassador to Denmark, Robert Molesworth, published in 1694 *An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692*, which quickly became a standard work and contributed distinctively to the kingdom's bad reputation among a wide European readership. See Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, 'Robert Molesworth's *An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692*: A political Scandal and its Literary Aftermath', in Knud Haakonsen & Henrik Horstbøll (eds.), *Northern Antiquities and National Identities: Perceptions of Denmark and the North in the Eighteenth Century* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2008).

5 For Struensee and censorship policies 1770–1772 and after, see Laursen, John Christian, 'Censorship in the Nordic Countries, ca 1750–1890: Transformations in Law, Theory, and Practice', *Journal of Modern European History*, 1 (2005); 'Luxdorph's Press Freedom Writings: Before the Fall of Struensee in Early 1770s Denmark-Norway', *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms,* 7.1 (2002); 'Cynicism as an Ideology behind Freedom of Expression in Denmark-Norway', in E. Powers (ed.), *Freedom of Speech*. See also Horstbøll, Henrik, 'The Politics of Publishing: Freedom of the Press in Denmark, 1770–1773' in Pasi Ihalainen et al. (eds.), *Scandinavia in the age of Revolution. Nordic political Culture 1740–1829* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011) and Kjell Lars Berge's chapter in this volume.

borgerlige regiering (*On civil government*) argued that the practice of listening to the wishes and advice of the people inoculated the absolutist monarchy of Denmark–Norway against any charges of despotism.[6] Evidence of the harmonious and fruitful coexistence between civil liberties and absolutist rule was the royal invitation of 1755, which encouraged subjects to offer their advice on improving the kingdom's economy. The offer resulted in the journal *Danmarks og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin* (*Economic Magazine of Denmark and Norway*, 1757–1764).

Even earlier arguments in favour of freedom of the press in Denmark–Norway are instructive, and the new type of journals appearing in Copenhagen in the 1740s played a central role in this development. The 1740s witnessed a small media revolution, in which a range of new titles appeared that experimented with the periodical form, after several decades of sluggish development within the genre due to legal, technological, and cultural limitations. Journals of the spectator genre, following the journalistic tradition modelled on the English *Spectator* (1711–1714), were particularly numerous and experimental.[7] Focusing on these periodicals from the 1740s allows the importance of the periodical medium in general and the spectator journals in particular to fully emerge. They served as channels for a new generation of authors' thoughts and debates within the limits of the twin monarchy's strict censorship. As Jakob Maliks demonstrates in his chapter, there was a very important vertical communication structure in Denmark–Norway allowing individual subjects to engage critically with the government, through the right to submit petitions to the king. The spectator journals however clearly tried to establish a kind of horizontal, civic public sphere like the one that had taken shape in England

6 The question whether the absolutist monarchy of Denmark–Norway was a 'despotic rule' was a delicate one, especially after the publication of Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* in 1747, which spawned a series of apologies for Dano-Norwegian absolutism. See Henrik Horstbøll, 'Defending Monarchism in Denmark-Norway in the Eighteenth Century', in Luisa Simonutti, John Christian Laursen, and Hans Blom (eds.), *Monarchisms in the Age of Enlightenment* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2007) and Ditlev Tamm, 'The Danish Debate about Montesquieu: Holberg, Kofod, Ancher, Sneedorff, Schytte, and Stampe', in Knud Haakonsen and Henrik Horstbøll (eds), *Northern Antiquities and National Identities*.The Norwegian historian Jens Arup Seip famously presented this as "the theory of monarchic rule guided by public opinion" in his essay by the same name ('Teorien om det opinionsstyrte enevelde'), published in *Historisk tidsskrift,* 2 (Oslo, 1958).

7 For an exemplary study of the various adaptations of the spectator genre in the eighteenth century, see Maria Lúcia Pallares-Burke, '*The Spectator*, or the metamorphoses of the periodical: a study in cultural translation', in Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007).

and to some extent in Sweden. Moreover, these periodicals reveal the role of eighteenth-century journals in creating and mediating a discourse about censorship and freedom of the press. The early spectator journals put freedom of print as well as 'civil enlightenment' on the public agenda.

Arguments for a freer press certainly gained much of their energy from censorship's restrictiveness. But as reading Ludvig Holberg together with two of the most interesting new spectator journals from the 1740s Copenhagen will show, the relationship between censorship practices and the ideal of freedom of the press was not necessarily one of absolute opposition and contradiction. What Edoardo Tortarolo among others has called the 'functional ambiguity' of Enlightenment censorship laws and practices in Europe actually endorsed public or semi-public negotiations, between authors, censors, and readers.[8] The traces of just such a 'negotiating process' come to light in *Den danske Spectator* (*The Danish Spectator*, 1744–45) and *La spectatrice danoise* (*The Danish Female Spectator*, published in French in Copenhagen, 1748–50), both of which thematize questions of censorship, freedom of expression, and the urge to write.

Censorship: Between Strict Laws and Flexible Practices

The history of censorship in Europe is as old as European culture itself and has served the authorities' need to supervise public morality and prevent the dissemination of politically and religiously dangerous ideas, especially since the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century. The censorship system in the absolutist monarchy of Denmark–Norway dates back to the Reformation, but it was codified after the introduction of absolutism in 1660. The Danish and Norwegian law provided the framework for organizing both pre- and post-publication regulation of the book industry, with different institutions and procedures responsible for censoring religious, political, and secular (but non-political) texts. Printers and booksellers were ordered not to allow the publication and dissemination of any work until it had passed through the censorship system and obtained approbation (*imprimatur*). Violators of the law could face capital punishment. To prevent heterodoxy and opposition within the Lutheran absolutist state, the procedures mainly targeted printed material touching on religious and political matters. Other targets were satire and slandering texts ('pasquills') suspected of criticizing members of the clergy or the state administration.[9]

8 Edoardo Tortarolo, 'La Censure à Berlin au XVIIIe siècle', *La Lettre Clandestine*, 6 (1997).

9 See Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bokmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 2001), especially Chapter 10.5.

On the one hand, there is no doubt that the Lutheran and absolutist regime regarded the printed word as a gift, "a divine art"—a necessary and celebrated medium for communication, learning, salvation, entertainment, income, religious propaganda, and political control. But on the other hand, the world of print, with its power to impact the moral and political order of society, increasingly represented a potential threat to the absolutist regime's power, legitimacy, and uniformity.

This deeply ambivalent attitude towards the press and the printed word in general can explain why the censorship practices of eighteenth-century Denmark–Norway were not as cohesive as the legal framework might indicate. Despite the harshness of the law, or maybe because of it, the severest penalties were hardly ever meted out. Effective control of manuscripts, prudent self-censoring and indirect writing, and a certain clandestine circulation of manuscripts and foreign books might explain the surprisingly small number of cases resulting in punishment. Also, the practices of censorship in Denmark–Norway, as in other European absolutist regimes, were notably heterogeneous.

These censorship policies prevailed throughout the eighteenth century and even evolved, with a range of regulatory rescripts and decrees supplementing the original laws, often in response to particular events and new circumstances. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the development of the news press and substantial improvements in information sources, the publication of news came under particular surveillance for state security reasons. An official decree from 1701 stated that the press was not allowed to publish opinions together with plain facts, to blend 'reasoning' with news.[10] Even after Struensee's abolition of press censorship in 1770, newspaper censorship continued.[11]

From Struensee's fall in 1772 until the end of the century, the absolutist monarchy of Denmark–Norway remained a country of relatively liberal censorship policies. Yet despite the relative freedom to speak out, an oppositional public opinion was slow to emerge. Some important political questions such as the freedom of the press were addressed in print from time to time, but absolutism itself went nearly unchallenged.[12] This was still the case during the public debates about social and political issues (particularly regarding the French

10 This 'Censur-Instrucs' is published in P.M. Stolpe, *Dagspressen i Danmark: dens Vilkaar og Personer indtil Midten af the attende Aarhundrede* (4 vols., Copenhagen, 1882), I, pp. 348–355. See also Chr. Kirchhoff-Larsen, *Den danske presses historie* (3 vols., Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaards forlag, 1942–1962), I.

11 For Struensee and censorship policies after 1770, see Laursen, 'Censorship in the Nordic Countries'; Laursen, 'Luxdorph's Press Freedom Writings', p. 1; Horstbøll, 'The Politics of Publishing'.

12 Freedom of thought and expression is defended on Christian, patriotic, and political, absolutist grounds—for instance in Jens Schielderup Sneedorff's *Den Patriotiske Tilskuer,*

Revolution) that appeared in the journals during the 1790s. These unprecedentedly vivid yet moderate political debates contributed significantly to the dissemination of Enlightenment texts and ideas in Denmark–Norway, as demonstrated by both Hilde Sandvik and Dag Michalsen in their chapters.[13] But Crown Prince Frederik silenced these discussions in 1799 and issued a decree reminding the public of the severe consequences of criticizing the royal family or the country's form of government.

Looking at censorship practices over time, we see that no group involved in the actual process was monolithic, from the kings, legislators, and censors to the authors and publics whose expression was subject to censorship. Constantly evolving technology, social structures, knowledge paradigms, and literary forms and devices during the eighteenth century presented the censorship system with different challenges and made heterogeneity a necessity. Clearly censorship did more than protect the king and the church—it also served to safeguard the public. Increasingly, clerics, intellectuals, and politicians functioning as censors saw themselves as sophisticated public 'guides' in the new and expanding 'Republic of Letters', defending morality and good taste as much as the sovereignty of the state and the Lutheran Church. Their main role was to ensure that the different types of texts and information were channelled to the right readers. Not all writings were suitable for every audience.

Recent studies have highlighted the discrepancies between the strict letter of the law and actual censorship practices surrounding both secular and religious books in Denmark–Norway during the first half of the eighteenth century.[14] Jesper Jacobsen's study, for instance, has shown that in the censorship of religious books during the Pietist regime of Christian VI, one major institution, the *General-Kirke-Inspektionskollegium* (Department of general ecclesiastical supervision), played a central role. It was established by the king in 1737 to support the Pietist cause, and one of its main tasks was to supervise the other institutions involved in the censorship business. Interestingly, it allowed uncensored books to be printed and circulated, as long as they remained within the strata

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1761–1763. See nr. 178, 1762. A similar type of argument can be found in Thyge Rothe, *Tanker om Kiærlighed til Fædrenelandet* (Copenhagen, Nicolaus Møller, 1759).

13 Freedom of the press was a recurrent theme in, for example, the journal *Minerva* (Aug. 1786, Oct. 1786, March 1791, etc). See also Thomas Munck, 'Absolute Monarchy in later eighteenth-century Denmark: Centralized reform, public expectations, and the Copenhagen press', *The Historical Journal*, 41.1 (1998), pp. 201–224.

14 See Harald Ilsøe in 'Censur og approbation', in John T. Lauridsen og Olaf Olsen (eds.), *Umisteligt*, (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 2007); and Jesper Jacobsen, 'Omorganiseringen af den teologiske censur. Generalkirkeinspektionskollegiets censurvirksomhed 1737–1747', *Historisk tidsskrift*, 111.1 (Copenhagen, 2011), pp. 1–35.

of the learned.[15] University theses were not subject to censorship at all: the fact that they were in Latin rendered them harmless to the general public. In the eyes of the fervent Pietists, popular publications—including various forms of amusement such as theatrical plays, street songs, and stories—seemed much more harmful and potentially corruptive of the general population. Both the Copenhagen police and the university were involved in the pre-censorship of these kinds of publications.

Most censorship practices actually targeted the dissemination of undesirable print material among the broader population in particular, while the learned classes could freely purchase uncensored books or import foreign literature.[16] No known cases exist in which scholars were sentenced for purchasing uncensored texts.[17] Thus the 'fanatical and separatist books' of foreign origin—such as *Apologia Theologica*, by the Scottish Quaker Robert Barclay—were not allowed on the open market, but the rescript that called for confiscating these materials stipulated that nothing should hinder booksellers from selling such books to "learned men, professors, priests holding office, or people collecting for libraries".[18]

Examples like these can illustrate the 'functional ambiguity' of censorship practices all over Europe in the eighteenth century. Edoardo Tortarolo used this term in his study of censorship in eighteenth-century Germany, where he found huge differences between censors in their interpretations and practices of centralized censorship principles.[19] In France as well, censorship procedures and measures taken in individual instances were notably contingent upon various factors, such as state commercial interests, which often interfered with cen-

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15 Jacobsen, 'Omorganiseringen af den teologiske censur', pp. 1–35.

16 For the importance of this 'two-tiered conception' of censorship in France, with one rule for specialists and an entirely different one for the general public, see Israel, 'Libertas Philosophandi'. See also Mogens Lærke (ed.), *The Use of Censorship in the Enlightenment*, (Brill, Leiden, 2009), especially the introduction.

17 Jacobsen, 'Omorganiseringen af den teologiske censur', p. 28.

18 Jacobsen, 'Omorganiseringen af den teologiske censur', p. 28. The Pietist government of course strongly supported and promoted the dissemination of desirable religious and learned books, for both religious and commercial reasons. And although officials often criticized various publications (e.g. works of fiction), the authorities largely tolerated their distribution, allowing printers to benefit from this essential source of income. The printers, for their part, performed self-censorship in order to head off strong reactions from the censoring authorities. But many forms of print actually continued to circulate in high numbers despite official attempts to marginalize them. Jacobsen, 'Omorganiseringen af den teologiske censur', p. 25.

19 Tortarolo, 'La Censure à Berlin au XVIIIe siècle'.

sorship principles and resulted in grey zones and loopholes (both intentional and unintentional) in the system. Tortarolo's point that censorship practices were far from being as unified and monolithic as the laws themselves might have implied seems also to hold for Denmark–Norway. Although it was important for the absolutist regime to occasionally make a public example of an author who had run afoul of the censor, the interpretation and execution of rules varied, depending as much on individual censors and authors—on publics and genres and on the commercial circumstances—as on the letter of the law. The censorship practices and the degree of freedom of expression could even be a matter of negotiation between censor and author, as we shall see shortly.

Holberg's Moderate Arguments for Freedom of Expression

Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), the prolific playwright and professor of history at the University of Copenhagen, dominated the cultural field during the first half of the eighteenth century. He generally ranks as the first explicit defender of religious tolerance and freedom of thought and expression in Denmark–Norway. Having spent his early years in several European countries at the dawn of the Enlightenment, he was deeply immersed in the philosophical problems of his time and frequently referred to writers such as Pierre Bayle, an ardent advocate of religious tolerance. As a professor of history, Holberg understood the censor's role and himself provided approbations for several publications.[20] As a European writer and thinker, however, he struggled with the Dano-Norwegian censorship system most of his life. It is not surprising, then, that he attacked the system, probably as explicitly as was possible under the prevailing 'rigid' conditions. But censorship (including self-censorship) cannot explain Holberg's overall social and political outlook: in defending freedom of expression, as in most political and philosophical matters, Holberg comes across as a moderate, arguing for conditional and gradual freedom within the framework of an absolutist monarchy and in no way questioning what he considered the natural division of society into different estates.[21] The conception of freedom

20 Ilsøe, 'Censur og Approbation', p. 132.

21 Holberg was an eager defender of the absolute monarchy in Denmark–Norway. He saw it as a historically legitimate rule, based on a secular and ethical elucidation of natural law. See Eiliv Vinje and Jørgen Sejerstedt (eds.), *Ludvig Holbergs naturrett* (Oslo, Gyldendal, 2012), and also Sune Berthelsen, 'Holberg—The Historian', in Gunnar Sivertsen and Eivind Tjønneland (eds.), *Holberg* (Bergen, Fagbokforlaget, 2008).

of expression that arose later in the century—that of a personal liberty or universal, individual right—found no expression in Holberg's writings.

In 1730, in a memorial speech for Frederik IV, delivered in Latin at the University of Copenhagen, Holberg remembered the deceased king's reign for its liberal atmosphere, affirming that "We spoke as if we were living in a free state, we joked and jested, we vied in cheerfulness without fear. For he would not be angered by free speech and indiscreet expression, and if by chance he was offended, his anger subsided without the lash." The liberal atmosphere did not last, however, and Holberg frequently attacked the censorship system in the years that followed. In his autobiography, dating from a couple of years after the publication of his controversial Latin novel *The Journey of Niels Klim to the World Underground* (1741, Leipzig), he argued that censoring books led to cultural stagnation: "There are luminous geniuses here in the Northern countries, but as far as I can see they will not be able to realize their full potential before we have removed this barrier and before the remains of the old gothic sourdough have been eliminated. The greatness of a culture can be measured by the freedom it bestows upon its writers", he declared.[22] In this same text we also find Holberg's strong arguments in favour of public discussion and disagreement, which he saw as the only means of combating fanaticism and ignorance while expanding enlightenment and truth. Both these arguments were widely used in favour of a freer press at the time, lucidly articulated, for instance, in John Milton's famous *Areopagitica—a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing to the parliament*, from 1644. Milton had contended that the free circulation of ideas leads to finding truth and refuting error. Later the Whig writer and spectator journalist Joseph Addison repeated this argument, also defending the anonymity of writers to ensure that good authors were not prevented from publishing their books.[23] According to Holberg, censorship too often thwarts the publication of serious, high-quality books while tolerating unimportant, trivial texts. 'Heterodox' texts are often more useful than 'orthodox' ones, he claims. The purpose of censorship should be to guarantee the quality and utility of published works. Censorship should serve as a kind of moral and aesthetic guard, protecting people—especially common people—from triviality, and

22 "Her i Norden fins det lysende begavelser, men så vidt jeg kan se, kan de ikke komme til full utfoldelse før denne hindring blir fjernet, og før de siste rester av den gamle gotiske surdeig blir utrenset. Jo større kultur et folk har, jo mere frihet gir det sine forfattere", in Holberg, *Tredie Brev til en Højvelbaaren Herre*, in F.J. Billeskov Jansen (ed.), *Ludvig Holberg. Værker i tolv bind* (12 vols., Copenhagen, 1969–1971 [1743]), p. 469.

23 See Eijnatten, 'In Praise of Moderate Enlightenment, p. 24.

especially the sort of triviality resulting from the young and inexperienced 'acting' teachers or authors.

This argument in favour of censorship as a way of ensuring quality accords with Holberg's frequent attacks on the new periodicals appearing in Copenhagen starting around 1745. In the eyes of the elderly professor, the young writers behind the new, experimental journals were contaminated by an old 'writing disease' that made them produce texts that resembled verbal diarrhoea ('tarmeløb').[24] He accused them of exploiting the printing press in order to put forward their easy and often ill-grounded opinions about both moral and political matters, thus subjecting delicate issues to the vagaries of a commercially motivated new journalistic form. Holberg had just published *Moral thoughts*, partly inspired by the moral essays in the English *The Tatler* and *The Spectator.* But he didn't regard the new spectator journalists appearing in Copenhagen as worthy competitors: they were nothing more than 'charlatans' from every strata of society, pretending to be authors. They were in fact the best examples of what Holberg loved to call 'political tinkers', people who 'are quick to hurriedly recast the world in a different mould'.[25] What they confirmed was that 'freedom of writing ha[d] gone too far'.[26]

In the 1720s Holberg was complaining about the scarcity of books in Denmark–Norway. By 1745 he expressed his explicit concerns about what he perceived as an overabundance of spectator journals.

Spectators in Copenhagen

One of the new young 'tinkers' who in Holberg's view was merely 'playing author' was Jørgen Riis (1717–1749).[27] In 1744 Riis launched, anonymously, the first true spectator journal or moral weekly in Danish, called *Den danske Spectator, eller Sande- og Granskningsmand* (*The Danish Spectator, or, Man of judgment and inquiry*). Riis's journal was not the very first of the spectator type

24 Holberg, 'Fortale', in *Adskillige Heltinders og navnkundige Damers sammenlignende Historier efter Plutarchi Maade*, (Copenhagen, 1745). See also Holberg's *Moralske tanker*, F.J. Billeskov Jansen (ed.) (Copenhagen, 1943), nr. 280, and his *Epistles* nr. 63, 72, 413 and 478 on the 'spectators', in *Epistler*, F.J. Billeskov Jansen (ed.) (8.vols., Copenhagen, 1944–1954).

25 Holberg, 'Fortale'. *The Political Tinker* ('Den politiske kandestøber') is also the title of Holberg's first popular comedy.

26 See also Holberg's, *Epistle* nr. 479.

27 This is confirmed by Holberg's later references to the spectator journals in *Epistles* nr. 72 and 478.

in Denmark–Norway. There had been some short-lived attempts in the genre in the 1720s and 1730s. Also several foreign spectators had been translated into Danish: the very first was *Der Patriot* from Hamburg, published in Danish as *Den Fordanskede Patriot* in 1726. Around 1740 extracts from both Addison and Steele's *The Spectator* and Olof Dahlin's *Den swenska Argus* (*The Swedish Argus*) appeared on the market, but somehow these journals never obtained the same success with the Dano-Norwegian readership as the German spectator.[28]

Riis's Danish spectator was modelled on the English *Spectator* of Addison and Steele. The English pioneers had famously mixed the publication of moral essays on 'fixt and immutable' themes with social observations and political news. Such a mix was not possible in Denmark–Norway. The official decree from 1701 had forbidden the publication of opinions together with plain facts, the blending of 'reasoning' with news. Newspapers were heavily censored. The spectator journals in Copenhagen were forced to shun news and to specialize exclusively in moral observations and opinions.

Jørgen Riis was of humble origins. He studied theology at the University of Copenhagen but also found inspiration in Holberg's rationalism. Whereas Holberg had drawn mainly upon his reading of French and English philosophy for his rationalist ideas, Riis apparently gravitated more towards the new rationalist philosophy emerging from Germany and the influential Christian Wolff school, which advocated popular philosophizing in vernacular languages.[29] Searching for ways to make a living, Riis tried his pen at writing essays. There is little doubt that his choice of the spectator form partly had pecuniary motives: "The name Spectator is used to sell every kind of work regardless of its quality", he admits in his own journal.[30] But he apparently also had literary, moral-philosophical, and 'patriotic' reasons for choosing the genre: inspired by Wolffian philosophy and the patriotic discourse of the day, he repeatedly described his enterprise as a contribution to the common well-being—to the 'perfection' and 'happiness' of the people. Like the English, German, and Swedish spectator journals, *The Danish spectator*, under his anonymous editorship, would help wage the battle against immorality, prejudice, and irrationality.

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28 See Stolpe, *Dagspressen i Danmark* and Kirchhoff-Larsen, *Den danske presses historie*.

29 Wolff believed that the goal of philosophy was not only to understand the knowledge of the truth, but also to apply it to practical, day-to-day issues. He wrote many works in German rather than in Latin or French. Thus, Wolffian philosophy was often labelled 'popular philosophy' in the eighteenth century. Several of his works were published in Danish between 1741 and 1744, such as *Fornuftige Tanker, om den menneskelige Forstands Krafter* (1742) and *Fornuftige Tanker om det, som Menneskene har at gøre og lade* (1744). For the impact of Wolffianism in Sweden, see Jonathan Israels's chapter in this volume.

30 *Den danske Spectator*, 28.

In the Lutheran state of Denmark–Norway, which for fifteen years had been under the influence of Pietism due to king Christian VI's deep penchant for this religious movement, morality was first and foremost a religious issue. According to *Den danske Spectator*'s editor, however, moral matters could not be contained under the monopoly of the church or the theological faculty at the university: morality was primarily a matter of human reason and sensibility, a matter of worldly reasoning and debate. This did not mean that the truths of reason were as infallible as revealed truths, but according to Riis, the moral truths disclosed by individual natural reason and philosophy were just as strict and compelling.[31] On the basis of these convictions, Riis devoted his weekly periodical essays to philosophical reflections and chastising verdicts on moral and social matters, interpolating some of the elements readers expected from this genre: fictional pieces, anecdotes, letters, and allusions.

Today it is easy to look at Riis's writing and note the absence of the kind of style or playful wit that characterized the English models for his journal. His tone was harsh and patronizing even as he attempted to use the literary devices of the day. In content, however, *Den danske Spectator* was surprisingly anti-authoritarian. Blending moral and social critique, Riis attacked 'subordination' of every kind and decried the unequal distribution of power and wealth, pointing to its destructive effects on moral standards in society.[32] Using the fictitious form of the 'Letter from the realm of the dead', he demonstrated that inequality between individuals was founded on prejudice rather than on reason and nature.[33] Attacking prejudice that was based upon appealing to an external authority, he called upon individuals to instead exercise their own ability to reason.

One of the last issues of *Den danske Spectator* published a letter in which an anonymous reader pointed to the editor's own 'excessive belief' ('overtro', which also means 'superstition') in his ability to tackle common prejudice (*præjudicium autoritatis*) through his boundless and baseless confidence in his own individual reason (*præjudicium nimiæ confidentiæ*). A correspondence followed, with the editor defending his right and duty to use his natural, individual reason in judging questions of truth, and the anonymous reader (the priest Gerhard Treschow, as it turns out) attacking Riis's position as the outcome of corrupt self-love.[34] As this correspondence shows, the journal managed to put reason itself under debate.

31 *Den danske Spectator*, 1 (Copenhagen, Berling, 1744–1745), pp. 2–3, and *Den danske Spectator*, 40, p. 372.

32 See, for instance, *Den danske Spectator*, nr. 39 and 40.

33 *Den danske Spectator*, 40.

34 The published correspondence is included at the end of The National Library of Norway's copy of *Den danske Spectator*.

Clearly Jørgen Riis was eager to encourage debate. Shortly after *Den danske Spectator* was launched, another weekly journal followed, titled *Den danske Anti-Spectator* (*The Danish Anti-spectator*). The new journal provided commentary on and refutations of each issue of *Den danske Spectator*, but in verse. The author behind the *Anti-Spectator* was the same Jørgen Riis. A third periodical voice followed, *Den danske Spectators philosophiske Spectator* (*The Danish Spectator's philosophical Spectator*), whose anonymous editor was another young student, the Wolffian philosopher Andreas Lundhof.[35] Between September and November 1745 Jørgen Riis also published *Den Politiske Tilskuer, det er: Politiske Betragtninger over de Europæiske Stater, oplyste ved Historiske og Geographiske Anmærkninger* (*The Political Spectator, being: Political considerations concerning the European states, enlightened by historical and geographical notes*), a supposed attempt to offer an alternative to the short and superficial information conveyed in newspapers. This journal quickly drew accusations from Thomas Clitau, the editor of Copenhagen's scholarly review journal (*Lærde Efterretninger*), of containing too many faults and errors. (He articulated these objections in *Dubio og Correctioner over Den politiske Tilskuer*.)[36]

Nevertheless, during several intense months between 1744 and 1745, these spectator journals, or moral weeklies, not only initiated a new kind of textual practice in Denmark–Norway. They also succeeded in creating something resembling a horizontal public sphere in miniature form: they served as forums where different voices could engage in rationalist and sometimes quite critical debates on philosophical and moral as well as social and political issues. Despite the fact that the participants were few and that Jørgen Riis himself stood behind several of the voices, the spectator journals contributed to building an idea of a public sphere in Denmark–Norway in which citizens could present their views and partake in discussions about matters of common interest. But the experiments did not last for very long, and we can only speculate as to how they might have evolved. Both Riis and Lundhof died young, before 1750.

35 In 1742, Lundhof had published a small text called *Nogle faa Tanker om Forstandens Brug i at kiende Sandhed meddeelende af Sandheds Elskere* [*A few Thoughts concerning the Use of Reason in attaining Knowledge of the Truth presented by a Lover of Truth*] advocating public discussion as a means of attaining truth. A couple of years later, Frederik Christian Eilschow, also a true Wolffian philosopher, makes a similar point about the authority of the individual 'natural reason' and argues for man's freedom of thought and expression, in his *Philosophiske Breve* (1748) and *Forsøg til en Fruentimmerfilosofi* [*Essays in a Philosophy for Women*], (1749).

36 See Kirchhoff-Larsen, *Den danske presses historie* and Eiliv Vinje, '*Den danske Spectator* (1744–45)', in Eivind Tjønneland (ed.), *Opplysningens tidsskrifter. Norske og danske periodiske publikasjoner på 1700-tallet* (Bergen, Fagbokforlaget, 2008).

Den
Danske
SPECTATOR,
Samt
Sande= og Granſknings=
Mand.

No. 1.
Sælges for 2. Skilling.

KIØBENHAVN, 1744.
Trykt og bekoſtet af Ernſt Henrich Berling, boendes udi ſtore Cañike-
Strædet, og findes hos hannem tilkiøbs.

ILLUSTRATION 8.1 Den danske Spectator *(1744–1745), by the young theologian Jørgen Riis, was the first spectator journal or 'moral weekly' in Denmark–Norway.*
IMAGE: © THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NORWAY

Traces of Conflict and Negotiation in *The Danish Spectator*

The new journalistic forms appearing in Denmark–Norway during the 1740s are interesting literary and media historical events. But equally interesting is the question of how the emergence of this new textual practice, and the quite radical *Den danske Spectator* in particular, was possible at all, considering the censorship system. The censorship system's 'functional ambiguity' can be part of the answer to this question, because it points to pre-censorship practices that made room for not only conflict and oppression, but also at times for negotiation between the author and the censor.

Type of publication could be one such point of negotiation. For the new spectator journals in general, their approbation may have resulted from the difficulty of defining their genre and their public. In effect, these journals' ambiguous status allowed them to avoid violating the letter of the law. They were neither fully learned nor popular. They mostly specialized in communicating opinions on moral and social matters and avoided addressing political and religious issues directly. They steered clear of news coverage. Furthermore, they avoided satirizing named persons (although the editor of *Lærde Efterretninger*, Thomas Clitau, did accuse Jørgen Riis of slander, but the court rejected the charge).

A second point of negotiation was the careful application of certain textual strategies when publishing controversial materials. The most anti-authoritarian ideas and opinions were often clad in entertaining literary devices, such as the 'Letter from the realm of the dead' (mentioned above), which sometimes either allowed authors to slip controversial material past the censor or led censors to assume that the public would not be paying attention.

But in the case of *The Danish Spectator* we can discover traces of confrontation as well as negotiation over the limits of freedom of the press. The censorship system entailed a certain division of labour. The spectators were censored and obtained approbation from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, and more particularly from Hans Peter Anchersen, a professor in history, classical philology, and eloquence from 1737 to 1765. Anchersen was known as a profoundly learned, enlightened, and moderate intellectual. He seems to have aimed for a balance in his role as censor: while attempting to prevent the spread of dangerous, radical ideas, he also stood his ground against religious fanatics (in this case the Pietists) who sought to ban any new rationalist ideas and experimental genres.

The Danish Spectator provides an example of one such notable confrontation, Riis's response to an anonymous reader's charge (noted above) that he suffered from an excessive belief in his own individual reason in social and

moral matters. In his own defence, he pointed to his ever-present motive throughout his journalistic venture of serving 'the common good'. Riis then repeated this 'patriotic' argument indirectly in reference to the criticisms against him: 'My reflections would have been more useful had it not been necessary to disguise the truth.'[37] Later, in the very last issue of *The Danish Spectator*, he more bluntly informed his readers that the censor had demanded heavy revisions of his journal: "I have been forced to exclude a lot of important matters…and I have had to squeeze the juice out of them, just to reach the end of the year with my journal." Having thrown down the gauntlet, he even disclosed the evolving conflict with his censor, Hans Peter Anchersen.[38]

For his part, however, the censor seems to have allowed Riis to publish his objections, along with some fundamental arguments concerning freedom of expression. For example, in Issue 35 Riis acknowledges the benefits of censorship but asserts his right to freely express his opinions, including critical ones: A writer's freedom in the lands of Denmark, Riis argues, "is set within limits that are all too narrow. Whereas censorship certainly can produce good things, as to prevent many an unreasonable or evil publication, it also gives life to a great evil, that the most important truths remain in the shadows because they are of the critical kind."[39] If the readers found the journal boring or insignificant, they could blame the censor, Riis concludes. His role and that of his journal was to seek the truth and communicate it to the public.

Defending the Urge to Write, in French

A look at the new periodical landscape in Copenhagen in the 1740s demonstrates that the constant circulation and recontextualizations of texts, genres, ideas, and people in Enlightenment Europe also involved Denmark–Norway,

37 *Den danske Spectator*, 38, p. 349: "Mine Betraktninger skulde end blive til større Nytte, hvis Sandheden ikke ofte maa skiule sig."

38 *Den danske Spectator*, 52, p. 468; "Jeg er bleven nødt til at udelade mange viktige Materier… jeg har maat skille nogle ved all deres Saft allene for at komme til Slutningen av Aaret."

39 *Den danske Spectator*, 35, p. 332: "Jeg maa sige mine Læsere, at Pennen løber i fuld *Galoup*, at, om mine Tanker i disse Blade ikke skulde smage dem, de da vil have mig undskyldt. En Skribentes Friehed er i de Danske Egne sat inden alt for snevre Grændser, og hvorvel *Censuren* kand foraarsage noget godt, anseet, den kand forekomme mange urimelige og onde Skrifters Publikaioner, saa føder den ogsaa af sig dette Onde, at de vigtigste Sandheder, fordi de er bidende, maa blive liggende i Mørke. Af denne Betragtning vil jeg derfor at mine Læsere ingen Slutninger maa giøre om de følgende, og har jeg her ikke skrevet efter deres Hoved, maa de give min *Censor* skylden, der igjennomseer mine Blade."

where publications included not only several adaptations of the spectator form, but also spectator journals published in German and French. Many of these journals conveyed new and sometimes quite radical ideas about religion, society, and censorship. One example is *La spectatrice danoise, ou l'Aspasie moderne*, published weekly and anonymously by the French protestant preceptor Laurent de la Beaumelle between 1748 and 1750. Twenty-one years of age, he had launched the periodical for pecuniary reasons, surely hoping to reach a larger European public with his French-speaking Danish female editor.[40]

The French-speaking female spectator editor, La Spectatrice danoise, was certainly ambitious and more playful and elegant than her Danish-speaking colleagues. La Beaumelle's journal used a range of literary devices typical of the spectator genre, such as the masked (female) editor; satirical travel letters and diaries;[41] anecdotes; dialogues; and subtle, polyphonic play with the panegyric genre.[42] And the content was no less anti-authoritarian than that of the *The Danish Spectator* in its attacks on prejudice and religious intolerance, the system of rank and hereditary aristocracy, and the political abuse of power. On the contrary, *La Spectatrice danoise* even addressed controversial topics such as atheism and religious and social aspects of freemasonry.[43] And of course, the female editor addressed questions of women's place in society—particularly their (lack of) press freedom.

Choosing a female mask, La Beaumelle was able to discuss the problems facing people without social position or official learning who nevertheless had an urge to write and publish. The choice of a female voice can be seen as a means of confronting the whole problem of press freedom within a hierarchical society marked by censorship and constraints at so many levels. La Spectatrice danoise introduced a quite radical, universalistic discourse when asking—albeit in a teasing and good-humoured way—why she, endowed with a capacity to think and reason equal to that of men, should not have the right to express herself publicly.[44] Why should women (or common people) be denied participation in the search for truth, the battle against prejudice, and

40 See La Beaumelle's letters to his brother during the Copenhagen years, in Hubert Bost and Hubert Angliviel de la Beaumelle (eds.), *Correspondance générale de la Beaumelle* (3 vols., Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2006), II. For instance p. 221.

41 'Extrait d'un Journal d'un Gentilhomme Jutlandois', *La Spectatrice danoise*, I.30–34 (Copenhagen, Berlinge, 1749–50), p. 249 and 'Le Groenlandais' in *La Spectatrice danoise* II, pp. 60–100.

42 'Les Muses françoises, Cantate à l'Honneur de Leurs Majestés' in *La Spectatrice danoise*, I.29, pp. 233–248.

43 *La Spectatrice danoise*, I.18 and I.20, pp. 137 and 153.

44 *La Spectatrice danoise*, I.1, pp. 1–2.

the process of reshaping morals? According to this 'modern Aspasia', individual reason was more important to a woman than beauty and rank.[45] Her own thirst for knowledge and urge to write were stronger than any social or pecuniary interest.[46] The periodical form was just the kind of medium suited for an eighteenth-century woman who, deprived of any formal education or learning and with no other ambition than to share her reflections in an amusing way, wanted to step into the public sphere of print.[47]

Several aspects of La Beaumelle's journal undoubtedly contributed to his eventual expulsion from the absolutist kingdom of Denmark–Norway in 1751. But in his case, expulsion was a simpler and more effective means of silencing him than censorship and trial. Nevertheless, the question still remains: how could such a journal manage to get through the censor in Copenhagen at that time?

Again, the complexity and 'functional ambiguity' of the censorship system can help to explain. *The Danish Female Spectator* carried the *imprimatur* of the same censor who reviewed *The Danish Spectator*, Hans Peter Anchersen. As a professor of eloquence and an important intellectual, Anchersen probably welcomed the foreign voices who brought novel and sophisticated literary styles to the still rather provincial town of Copenhagen. Moreover, dealing with texts written in French meant that he could ignore concerns about exposing the public to controversial ideas. Subscription lists confirm that the journal's readership was quite limited and mostly confined to the higher aristocracy around the new royal couple.[48]

By the time La Beaumelle published his spectator journal, the much more liberal Frederik V had succeeded the Pietist king Christian VI. But this did not affect the censorship policies at first. We know that La Beaumelle's journal was subjected to profound censorship before publication and that the author was forced to make changes and cut material. Repeatedly, especially in the later issues, La Spectatrice danoise's frustration with both the readers and the censor shines through. In her preliminary 'Adieu Au Public' in Issue 60, La Spectatrice wants to make peace with her readers. Rather than confronting them with a moral critique, she ironically gives in to their preferences and wishes: "Yes, dear PUBLIC, your decisions will be my law, your prejudices will be my reason…; I will make it my duty to applaud your tastes, to respect your faults, to praise

45 See for example *La Spectatrice danoise*, I. 9, pp. 67–72.

46 *La Spectatrice danoise*, I, pp. 68–69.

47 *La Spectatrice danoise*, II, p. 4.

48 A subscription list is attached in the copy of *La Spectatrice danoise* owned by The National Library of Norway. It contains a little over 100 names of subscribers.

your confusions; an honour to laud your whims and to adore your weaknesses."[49] But the Frenchman was far from willing to adapt to the censor's corrections, however: According to the nineteenth century literary historian Petersen, La Beaumelle often changed Anchersen's written corrections and made the printer believe the new corrections were the censor's own, or he just replaced some words without altering the meaning. According to Petersen, La Beaumelle, during the pre-publication censoring of his highly controversial work *Mes Pensées*, also written during the Copenhagen years, even challenged Anchersen's authority by appealing to the words of the reigning king Frederik V, "Je ne veux point, que le genie soit constraint dans mon païs".[50]

To conclude, the traces of negotiation in journals like *Den danske Spectator* and *La Spectatrice danoise* are vital to our understanding of censorship and especially the pre-publication censorship practices in eighteenth-century Denmark–Norway. Censorship in the kingdom was not just a monolithic system of repression, but a complex and diverse arena of both conflict and compromise. Moreover, the traces of negotiation tell us something about the relationship between censorship practices, textual practices, and the contextual basis for the shifting arguments in favour of greater freedom of expression and freedom of the press. The texts from the first half of the eighteenth century do not articulate an absolute idea of freedom of expression and freedom of the press as a civil liberty or as a natural, universal and individual right that had censorship as its fundamental opposite. The radical *Spectatrice danoise* comes closest to putting forward a universalistic argument of that nature, but in a subtle and playful way. Rather than proclaiming abstract principles, the spectator journalists and writers developed their arguments by performing and negotiating freedom of the press within a society with strict limitations on the printed word.

Anchoring arguments for freedom of the press within their original contexts contributes to a better understanding of the concept's historicity before it emerged as one of the values most taken for granted in modern Western democracies today. As become apparent here, the early genealogy of freedom of the press was anything but uniform and linear. Bourgeoning arguments in favour of press freedom in the eighteenth century were surprisingly varied. In the course of the century complex intellectual processes—in which ideas, genres, contextual issues, and practices of both print and censorship were entangled—challenged and altered these arguments.

49 *La Spectatrice danoise*, I.60, p. 501.

50 N.M. Petersen, *Bidrag til den danske literaturs historie*, (5 vols., Copenhagen, 1870), V. 80. Petersen refers to 'Haandskrevne Efteretning i det Kgl. Biblioteks Eksemplar af *Mes Pensées*'.

CHAPTER 9

Developing a New Political Text Culture in Denmark–Norway, 1770–1799

Kjell Lars Berge

The unrestrained freedom of writing introduced by Johann Friedrich Struensee in 1770 represented a political breakthrough of Enlightenment ideas in one of Europe's most absolutist monarchies.[1] It was sensational news, and prompted an enthusiastic response from one of the most prominent Enlightenment figures of the day, the famous French philosopher François-Marie Arouet, or Voltaire. Voltaire almost immediately praised the rescript in a pamphlet that took the form of an open letter to the king, published in Copenhagen (see also Israel's chapter). However, the pamphlet's exaltation of the king was ambiguous because, as Voltaire pointed out, the monarch had done no more than return to the people something that already rightfully belonged to them:

> You Monarch of virtue! Despite being born to despotic Government, do YOU believe, from the position of YOUR Baltic shores, that you also govern me? Am I one of YOUR subjects, that YOU therefore act towards me, as towards them? That YOU soften my life and make me happy?…And free, still respectful, bold without pride, I fall on my knees before YOU in the name of all mankind. It speaks through my voice. It blesses YOUR mildness. YOU return mankind its rights, and YOU allow thinking. Sermons, novels, natural science, odes, history, opera: everything might be written by anyone. Let everyone who wants to whistle, do so.[2]

1 Arnold H. Barton, *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era, 1760–1815*, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1980); Thorkild Kjærgaard, 'The Rise of Press and Public Opinion in Eighteenth Century Denmark–Norway', *Scandinavian Journal of History* (1989), pp. 215–230; John Christian Laursen, 'Censorship in the Nordic Countries, ca 1750–1890: Transformations in Law, Theory, and Practice', *Journal of Modern European History*, 1 (2005); Michael Bregnsbo, 'Struensee and the political culture of absolutism', in Pasi Ihalainen et al. (eds.), *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution. Nordic Political Cultures 1740–1820* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

2 François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire), *Brev til Hans Majestet Kongen af Danmark angaaende den udi hans Stater forundte Tryk-Frihed* (Copenhagen, 1771). Translated by the author of the article.

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When Struensee, in the name of the king, announced the end of all censorship on 14 September 1770, he transformed the constitutive norms of written communication throughout society virtually overnight. The possibility of a new social order and public sphere was no longer a mere utopian ideal or goal, but an actual political possibility, challenge, and reality. This new communication order was viewed internationally as something fundamentally new and unheard of (notwithstanding the Swedish Liberty of Printing from 1766, see Israel's chapter).[3] Voltaire's open letter at any rate conveys the belief that the decree would create a new communication realm in society—the institution of public opinion in a so-called public sphere. Voltaire's praise points to the prospect that a new pact between the people and the king of Denmark–Norway, building on the universal right of free thoughts and opinions for all human beings, might be established.

Moreover, the letter also suggests that all utterances and texts—from the text culture of opera to the text culture of natural science—might represent this universal pact of freedom of thought and expression of opinions within the public sphere. Thereby I will argue that Voltaire revealed the need for a specific text culture based on a new rhetoric that corresponded to the newly developed public sphere.

Voltaire's letter stakes out the position that the end of censorship and the subsequent emergence of a public sphere in fact demands a new legal pact between those with absolute power—the king and his council—and the people: "YOU return mankind its rights, and YOU allow thinking", he exclaims. However, this need for a new pact was not new, but belonged to a tradition that began already in the seventeenth century—that is, the tradition of the social contract, which goes back at least to John Locke. We can see traces of this tradition in the way Voltaire boldly speaks to the king on everyone's behalf: "I fall on my knees before YOU in the name of all mankind. It speaks through my voice."

This ancient (but recently re-established) pact implies, according to Voltaire, that every man is born free and that his opinions must be respected in their own right. In Voltaire's letter we find traces of the classic Enlightenment ideas of *universal human rights*, according to which freedom of speech and writing is the foundation upon which social relations are constituted, as opposed to ideas seeing freedom of speech as a practice compatible with absolutism (see Krefting's chapter).

In Voltaire's view, the king could no longer be considered the one and only individual or institution that determines what is true and right in society. Power

3 See also Laursen, 'Censorship in the Nordic Countries', p. 100.

and truth should be distinguished from each other in a new communication sphere to be developed where the truth and rights of the society are discussed without intervention by an absolute ruler.

Voltaire's argumentation is obviously grounded in the fundamental ideas of the Enlightenment, to which he prominently contributed. What I want to single out here, though, is less often discussed in literature on the subject: Voltaire explicitly refers to what I would call the new text cultures of the Enlightenment.[4] As Voltaire predicts, this new freedom granted by the king promises to give rise to new kinds of literary forms and authors: "sermons, novels, natural science, odes, history, opera: everything might be written by anyone. Let everyone who wants to whistle, do so." The newly won freedom of print meant the establishment of a sphere for public debates and opinions open to new genres and new participants. Thereby also open to new rules. There was thus a need for new text norms to be adapted for this newly constituted communication sphere.

The sudden liberty to write without fear of being censored or punished thus created a new difficulty: the former subjects had to learn to become free men (citizens) in writing and in print. As Voltaire's catalogue of genres suggests, new text norms had not been established as a stable genre system for opinion-makers. There were huge differences in how genres of the belles-lettres such as 'odes' on one hand and the religiously based 'sermons' on the other could represent independent individuals' free thinking and publicly formulate viewpoints on political matters. The freedom of writing rescript of 1770 thereby paved the way for immense and rapid text cultural changes in Denmark–Norway, both in direction and shape.

Absolutist Text Norms before 1770

In principle, until the rescript of 14 September 1770, the king was the addressee of all written texts regardless of medium, format, and genre. All texts, whether printed or unprinted, were to have the king as their targeted model reader, and when the professors at the University in Copenhagen read and sanctioned publications, they did so on behalf of the king (see further Malik's chapter). Also publications that were considered theological in nature, and approved by the bishops in Denmark, Norway, and the duchies of Holsten and Slesvig, were accepted on behalf of the king.[5]

4 Kjell Lars Berge, 'Rhetoric and the study of texts, text norms and text cultures', in Jens Elmelund Kjeldsen & Jan Grue (eds.), *Scandinavian Studies in Rhetoric. Rhetorica Scandinavica 1997–2010* (Retorikförlaget, 2011), pp. 88–105.

5 Laursen, 'Censorship in the Nordic Countries', pp. 100–117.

The text norms of the existing printed literature were quite familiar to the people belonging to the classes of noblemen, clergy, civil servants, and officers of the armed forces—or to the growing class of entrepreneurs and capitalists. The rescript broadened this public, and enabled young and ambitious men also outside these circles to find new arenas for intellectual, political, and rhetorical cultural education. A new public habitus was created, adapted to these young aspiring writers' interests.

Opinion Versus Knowledge in the Public Sphere

To understand the development of the public sphere in Denmark–Norway of the 1770s—as well as the text culture adapted to the promotion of public opinions—it is important to differentiate between the act of expressing the truth about nature on one hand and the act of expressing opinions on how the society should be governed on the other. The difference between the free distribution of truth—such as in the scientific journals (see Persson and Oscarssons chapters)—on one hand and political opinions on the other was important, but not always easy to separate. Whereas the former was protected by the monarchs, the latter was mainly to be curbed (see Maliks' chapter).

In the freedom of writing rescript, this differentiation was, I will argue, implied: Censorship was not abolished to allow free opinions from free men. Instead, it was abolished primarily to meet the king's need for true information about 'prejudices' and 'abuse' in order to react to possible 'delusions.' Fundamentally, Struensee intended to stimulate the industries of Denmark–Norway. What he did not consider—before it was too late—was that allowing the dissemination of information opened the floodgates to the public expression also of *opinions*. For instance, those who knew that the king's centralized financial policies towards Norwegian entrepreneurs exporting goods were ineffective might also formulate opinions on how financial politics should change. In this way, differences between the king's economic policy and the manufacturers' economic interests and political opinions began to surface in society. Such differences could at times take on a rather serious character, such as in the 1793 conflict over a Norwegian university, a question that quickly became a national issue, thus posing a threat to the whole patriotic ideology holding the twin kingdoms together.

Developing a Public Sphere after 1770: Formats and Text Norms

Public sphere as an institution did not effectively exist in Denmark–Norway before 1770. Still, two formats that had been around were at the disposal of

those who wished to express their opinions: pamphlets and journals. The publication of pamphlets and journals throughout the eighteenth century contributed in a constitutive way to the development of public opinion, creating a reliable resource for engaging in politics. A relatively short publication, the pamphlet typically presented a single political point of view, often in a polemical or aggressive manner. It was often used to present the opinions of the day.[6] The journal, on the other hand, was more complex, developed as a resource for more considered public debate. Whereas the pamphlet was read in public—from time to time causing an uproar in the streets of Copenhagen among people of the lower classes—journals were used by the middle classes for more well-mannered debates.

A third element of the Danish-Norwegian public sphere was the strongly censored newspapers.[7] Most of these news consisted of notices from the king and his officials or information about goods for sale in the city and the books that were available in bookstores (mainly science- or technology-related tomes or didactic moral narratives). At that time printed newspapers did not carry any other news. A reader would never find in them the so-called political news about what was happening nationally or internationally (see Krefting and Malik's chapter). Thereby, in most of the eighteenth century, every printed newspaper was an underdeveloped textual marketplace for presenting and selling news.

Readers interested in civic or governmental affairs would need access to a medium outside the printed pressthe handwritten newspapers, but even in these papers, the so-called news consisted of rather trivial information. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that printed newspapers began to more systematically carry texts that more resembled news reports that informed citizens about spectacular events such as murders or fights in the harbour between locals and foreign sailors. And even then, it was impossible to find in printed newspapers the most superficial reports on how society was governed. In sum, officially sanctioned printed newspapers only covered business related to the market or conveyed information about births, marriages, deaths, etc. Devoid of sensationalism, they recorded daily events in the lives of dignified citizens. Completely absent were genres and themes such as politically oriented reports, comments on political events, or public opinions—even of the more

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6 Kjell Lars Berge, 'Den offentlige meningens genrer', [The genres of public opinion] in Trond Berg Eriksen and Egil Børre Johnsen (eds.), *Norsk litteraturhistorie. Sakprosa fra 1750 til 1995* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1998).

7 Kjell Lars Berge and Trygve Riiser Gundersen, 'Det pressemessige før pressen. Et marked tar form', in Martin Eide and Hans Fredrik Dahl (ed.), *En samfunnsmakt blir til 1660–1880*, *Norsk presses historie 1660–2010* (4 vols., Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 2010), I. pp. 15–41.

trivial kind. Public opinions—when they were expressed—were exclusively published in pamphlets and journals.

This kind of text culture posed two prominent challenges that emerged as soon as the freedom of writing rescript of 1770 was implemented: The first challenge concerned the addressee and topic of any public debate: Would opinions continue to be directed at the king in answer to his declared wish for open-mindedness, or would they be directed at a new audience? If the opinions were addressed to the public at large, what topics would be considered worthy of public discussion and debate?

The second challenge concerned the rhetorical qualities that would characterize the new public expressions of opinion in the era of unrestricted utterances. Would the new texts be traditional humble requests for the king's attention, or would they take on new forms to suit a changed rhetorical situation and its corresponding rhetorical culture? To sum up: Whose role was it to define the relevant themes and participants in the newly established public sphere? In other words, did this public sphere evolve as a truly democratic communicative realm open to all groups, individuals, and topics?

Let us consider the first challenge. The freedom of writing rescript of the 1770 reform was at its core based on Enlightenment principles, as Voltaire makes clear in his letter to the king. However, seen from the viewpoint of the later consequences of open public debate, particularly the 1789 French Revolution, the reform was characterized by a rather naïve understanding of how an absolute monarchy could exercise power unchallenged. Originally, the rescript's writer and instigator, the king's head of government Johann Friedrich Struensee, justified his radical reform with the reasoning that in allowing public debate, the king would have access to frank and accurate information about the economic situation and local administrations in the twin kingdoms of Denmark–Norway. But Struensee could neither foresee nor understand that establishing the institution of public sphere would have consequences for society's power relations, including the most essential of all, the relation constituting the basis for the absolute monarchy: the contract between the holder of absolute power (the king) and his subjects (the people).[8]

In texts written from the perspective of the Third Estate, the so-called *almuen* (common man), who constituted the overwhelming majority of the people, the relation between the king and the people was clear. It was one between a 'father' and his 'children'. This conservative and traditional idea was expressed in a pamphlet written by two Norwegian peasants and published anonymously

8 Brengsbo, 'Struensee and the Political culture of absolutism'.

in Copenhagen in 1771.[9] In this pamphlet, the two Norwegian authors accuse the king's civil servants of corruption in their local district in Norway. Written, printed, published, sold, and read in Copenhagen, the publication contributed to the new text culture of public opinion. Nevertheless, the authors explicitly pointed out that their model reader was the king. It would be '*alle tiders*' (marvellous) they exclaim, if '*han Far skiøl i Kiøpenham*' (father himself in Copenhagen) would examine and inspect the case.[10]

Although the peasants were contributing to the newly emerged public sphere, which was based on the principles of free public opinions, they still considered the king their model reader. This viewpoint accords with the law, which still stipulated that the king was the model reader of every text written and/or printed in the twin kingdoms. Before the freedom of writing rescript, according to the king's law peasants could only complain through the king's local official, the Sorenskriver. According to the 1771 pamphlet, the fundamental change that the rescript brought about was that peasants could write directly to the king (albeit mediated through the printed press), but without mediation of the Sorenskriver. From a political and juridical viewpoint, the fact that a text was printed was secondary to the fact that it was written. This is why the king's announcement of 1770 is called the 'freedom of writing rescript'. Of course, even in an autocratic society such as Denmark–Norway, printed texts were more easily controlled and censored than were written texts that were not printed.

An interesting example of how important the distinction was between the terms 'printed word' and 'written word' is provided by the newspaper's development from the seventeenth century onwards as a medium for freely circulating information and opinion. In Denmark–Norway during the eighteenth century, until the 1814 Norwegian Constitution, with few exceptions printed newspapers were called 'adresseaviser' (address newspapers).[11] They carried the king's proclamations, information about the arrival of ships and goods, information about weddings and deaths, excerpts of (mostly) scientific literature on sale in bookstores, etc. These address newspapers' publishers were required to have a royal permit to print their papers. Only one such permit was granted in each cathedral city. Often the same individual was granted a royal permit to run both a bookstore and a print shop. By contrast, newspapers written by hand were called political newspapers (*politiske aviser*). These handwritten political newspapers, which published information about the government,

9 Anon., *Samtale mellem Einar Jermonsøn og Reiar Randulvsøn paa Opland i Aggerhuus-Stift i Norge* (Copenhagen, 1771).

10 Anon., *Samtale mellem Einar Jermonsøn og Reiar Randulvsøn*.

11 Kjell Lars Berge and Trygve Riiser Gundersen, 'Det pressemessige før pressen', pp. 15–41.

were often created by a town's postmaster and distributed by him to subscribers all over the vast area of Denmark–Norway. The handwritten papers were neither controlled nor censored. Thus, as printed texts, the address newspapers belonged to the official communication sphere that existed prior to the freedom of writing rescript, while the handwritten newspapers belonged to the uncensored private sphere. The quality that distinguished handwritten newspapers from private letters was that these political handwritten newspapers were products intended for sale. Private letters constituted a text culture of their own, enabling families and friends (especially among civil servants and the clergy) to keep each other informed and maintain contact.

This absolutist understanding of the new public liberty continued throughout the century, despite the emergence of new text norms. We still find the concept of public opinion as primarily written and not printed among the founding fathers of the Norwegian constitution in 1814. It was, however, primarily between the peasants' representatives that we find the formulation 'freedom of writing' in addition to freedom of printing, while civil servants and the bourgeoisie typically focused on 'freedom of printing'. In this way, the peasants' interpretation of the freedom of writing rescript was identical with the king's (or in reality Struensee's) explicit intentions.

Nevertheless, even if the peasants' 1771 pamphlet in no way formally diverged from the king's intentional and expressed will, their pamphlet also represented something sensationally new and radical. It was an omen of a new form of authority whereby public opinion was formed through open and democratic debate. This authority was increased by the fact that all public opinions could be expressed, written, and published in total anonymity both for author and for printer. Therefore, the king and his civil servants could not investigate the motivation and social background of the criticism put forward in published texts. Nor could they prosecute author and printer.

The peasants' pamphlet gives an indication of how public opinion could be expressed within the new text culture, despite the absence of genres to shape the institution of public opinion. Authors did not create a rhetoric adapted to the institution of public opinion out of the blue. Rather, they looked to well-established but overlooked genres that could help constitute the emerging public sphere, such as for instance in the use of the dialogue in the abovementioned example.

Rhetorical Strategies

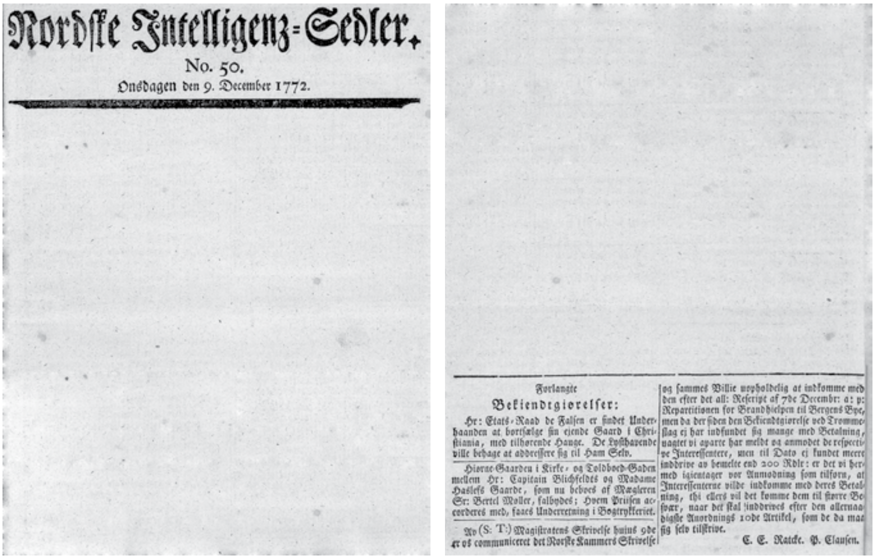
Of course, the old tradition of school rhetoric or *progymnasmata*, in which most young men attending the university were schooled, still existed. This

tradition was denigrated, particularly by the intellectual elite, as an outdated and substandard form with no relevance for new philosophical and political theories or for the development of public opinion. The establishment of public opinion, however, resulted in a renaissance of political rhetoric coined in the classical tradition of Marcus Tullius Cicero. Crucial for understanding the genres of the institution of public opinion is the revival of rhetoric in the so-called Scottish Enlightenment, primarily through Hugh Blair's famous book *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783). It came to influence important and prominent participants in Danish–Norwegian society. A local Danish–Norwegian version of Blair's work was as a result of the demand for text norms adapted to public opinion developed and published by the Norwegian Jacob Rosted in 1810. The title was *Forsøg til en Rhetorik* (*Attempt at a Rhetoric*).

Another strong text-cultural tradition was connected to the official state Lutheran Church and the various congregations developing in its shadow. As had often been the case, the genre traditions of the Bible and text norms built on those traditions represented a potential for political opposition, and consequently a resource for public opinion. Often the genres of religious life were used, such as sermons or prayers.

Moreover, individual authors participating in the public sphere had to choose rhetorical strategies. Authors often used traditional forms from other and more conventionalized text cultures, such as the didactic dialogue, well known from antiquity, and often used for religious purposes in the Christian tradition. Alternatively, they could use the genre resources developed in the more liberal and advanced public spheres that had evolved in Britain and France. For instance, several authors used genres associated with the journals *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, imported from London, or they used the essay genre, often associated with a French tradition beginning with Montaigne. Authors could also use genres we today associate with the belles-lettres or even opera, such as the ode or the aria.

The Norwegian peasants' 1771 pamphlet is a typical example of the rhetorical challenges of expressing public opinion. In accordance with the conservative understanding of the situation, the peasants wrote the text as a letter to the king. To be able to put forward their complaints to the king, they composed the letter as a dialogue between two peasants. One of the two interlocutors, called 'Reiar', appears more informed about the political situation after the publication of the freedom of writing rescript than the other, whose name is 'Einar'. In keeping with the conventions of didactic dialogues and oral narratives, the letter to the king takes the form of a dialogue between Reiar and Einar that relates parallel stories of treachery: the



Norske Intelligenz-Sedler.

No. 50.

Onsdagen den 9. December 1772.

Forlangte

Bekiendtgiørelser:

Hr: Etats-Raad de Falsen er sindet Underhaanden at bortsælge sin ejende Gaard i Christiania, med tilhørende Hauge. De Lysthavende ville behage at addressere sig til Ham Selv.

Hiørne-Gaarden i Kirke- og Toldboed-Gaden mellem Hr: Capitain Blichfeldts og Madame Haslefs Gaarde, som nu beboes af Mægleren Sr: Bertel Møller, falbydes; Hvem Priisen accorderes med, faaes Underretning i Bogtrykkeriet.

Av (S: T:) Magistratens Skrivelse hvis 9de er os communiceret det Norske Kammers Skrivelse og sammes Villie uopholdelig at indkomme med den efter det all: Rescript af 7de Decembr: a: p: Repartitionen for Brandhielpen til Bergens Bye, men da der siden den Bekiendtgiørelse ved Trommeslag ej har indfundet sig mange med Betalning, uagtet vi aparte har meldt og anmodet de respective Interessentere, men til Dato ej fundet mere inddrive av bemelte end 200 Rdlr: er det vi hermed igientager vor Anmodning som tilforn, at Interessenterne vilde indkomme med deres Betalning, thi ellers vil det komme dem til større Besvær, naar det skal inddrives efter den allernaadigste Anordnings 10de Artikel, som de da maa sig selv tilskrive.

C. C. Ratcke. P. Clausen.

ILLUSTRATION 9.1 *The first Norwegian newspaper,* Norske Intelligenz-Sedler*, was published weekly in Christiania (Oslo) from 1763. In December 1772, its publisher decided to leave the first two pages empty, in protest against the content being censored. Press freedom under Struensee's short reign had come to an end.*
IMAGE: © THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NORWAY

king's foreign civil servants have been cheating peasants in ways similar to how foreign moneylenders in the free city of Altona have been cheating the king.

The king's texts governing the kingdoms were not included in the public sphere. Neither the king nor his public servants engaged in public discussion of how society was governed, and the king did not lower himself to public involvement in politics.

Provincial Text-cultures

Whereas the most important city for the evolution of a text culture of public opinion was Copenhagen, the cities in the peripheries of the twin kingdom were surprisingly in tune with what happened in the King's city The Norwegian city of Trondheim, for instance, demonstrated interesting patterns in the development of free speech and represented a noteworthy counterpart to Copenhagen.

Trondheim emerged as a melting pot for developing a public sphere in that was local and provincial, but still connected to the kingdom's undisputed

centre, Copenhagen.[12] Thanks to the vibrant capitalistic development in the city and in its hinterland, a strong interest in scientifically based knowledge and public opinion had been established. In Trondheim the first Norwegian society for the promotion of science was established. Prominent entrepreneurs and landowners supported and often became members in the society. Some of the founders also started journals in the fashion of the international trends, such as Peter Frederik Suhm's journal *Tronhiemske Samlinger* (Trondheim Collections). Suhm established an important connection with the elite in Copenhagen. When he returned to Copenhagen in 1765, he became an influential figure in the liberal and modernization-oriented Danish opposition to Struensee.

Another indication of Trondheim's significance was the fact that the city's bishop Johan Ernst Gunnerus received an invitation to reform the university in Copenhagen. A young student, Johan Nordahl Brun, followed Gunnerus as his secretary. Nordahl Brun wrote the first tragedies in Danish, thus contributing to making theatre an important part of the kingdom's text culture. Significantly, Nordahl Brun's second tragedy, *Einar Tambeskjælver* (first staged in 1772), raised the sensitive and potentially dangerous question of the cultural and political differences between Danes and Norwegians. Nordahl Brun's tragedy thus demonstrated the potential of the belletristic genres to express public opinions. A less prominent, but still relevant, indication of Trondheim's status as a text-cultural melting pot in Denmark–Norway, was that in 1756, the city's mayor, Niels Krog Bredahl, was invited to Copenhagen to write the libretto for the first Danish opera and stage it.

Still, for developing public opinion, establishing an address paper in the city was more important. The newspaper *Tronhiems kongelig allene privilegerede Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger* (Trondheim Royal and only privileged Address Office Intelligences) did not initially represent anything radically new when it appeared in 1767. In fact, the paper's founder and first editor, a young lawyer, Martinus Nissen, in the first edition explicitly distanced himself from public debate. Nevertheless, the paper soon took on the character of the city's textual meeting- or marketplace—a potential agora for public opinion. Despite his opposition to public debate, Nissen's interest in establishing the paper seems to have reflected an interest in public debate among individuals from his social stratum.

Trondheim seems at any rate to have produced quite a few contributors also to public debate in Copenhagen, both before and after 1770. Under the

12 Kjell Lars Berge, 'Trondhjem: selskapenes offentlighet', in Martin Eide and Hans Fredrik Dahl (ed.), *En samfunnsmakt blir til 1660–1880,* in *Norsk presses historie 1660–2010* (4 vols., Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 2010), I. pp .129–46.

pseudonym Philopatreias, the young and eager law student Jacob Christian Bie published several pamphlets directly criticizing the foundations of the autocratic government of Denmark–Norway. These pamphlets immediately created shock waves throughout Copenhagen.[13] Bie's opinions underwent strong challenges from an influential professor from the Sorø Academy for nobles near Copenhagen, Ove Høegh Guldberg (who was also the teacher of the king's children). Høegh Guldberg became the *de facto* prime minister of Denmark–Norway after Johann Friederich Struensee was driven from power and executed in 1773.

Despite the unhappy destiny of Bie in Copenhagen, Trondheim itself would later radicalise its local public sphere. When Nissen died in 1795, an immigrant from Slesvig, Matthias Conrad Peterson, succeeded him as editor of the address newspaper and became a pioneer of public opinion in the city. As a symbolic act of his explicit political agenda, he changed the paper's name to *Trondhjemske Tidender* (Trondheim News). From 1795 to 1799, Peterson edited both *Trondhjemske Tidender* and the important journal *Quartbladet* (Quarto Papers). From 1815 to 1819, he published the journal *Den lille Tronhiemske Tilskuer* (Little Trondheim Spectator). Peterson developed *Trondhjemske Tidender* into a modern newspaper, inspired by the experiences of public debate in Denmark–Norway after 1770 and by events of the French Revolution. He not only opened the newspaper's pages to public debate but also quite enthusiastically urged citizens to express themselves honestly and without fear in the paper. Peterson's efforts to create an uncensored local public sphere, where public opinions might be expressed, were frowned upon by local authorities who reported to the king and his administration in Copenhagen. Because of a decree published in 1799 that radically restricted the possibilities of public opinion, Peterson was forced to resign as editor of Trondheim's newspaper (see also Michalsen and Ringvej's chapters). But he did not do so without thumbing his nose at the king, publishing the king's decree in its entirety in *Trondhjemske Tidender* as a sort of insult and as an implicit comment on the stupidity of autocratic government.[14]

However, Peterson did not himself invite all individuals or genres into the part of the seemingly wide public sphere he edited. He represented a social class that during the decades after the announcement of the 1770 freedom of writing

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13 See, for example Anonymous, *Philopatreias trende Anmærkninger* (Copenhagen, 1770), 1. Om de dyre Tider og Handelens Svaghed', '2. Om Rettergang', '3. Om Geistlighedens Indkomster'.

14 Concerning the King's decree of 1799, see further J.C. Laursen, 'Censorship in the Nordic Countries', pp. 112f.

rescript had developed text norms that excluded other ways of expressing public opinion, especially the text traditions of the common man. By Peterson's text norms, the peasants' 1771 pamphlet would be considered naïve and silly.

Peterson's reaction to lay preachers' political agitation using the traditional genres of the religious text culture is thus symptomatic of a class conflict between the educated liberal classes and the common man. When in 1799 the influential lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge visited him wanting to publish an article in his paper, Peterson refused to publish the text. He felt that Hauge represented jejune prejudices and a childish approach to modern society. Consequently, Hauge and people like him could not be considered participants in the public sphere—rather, they were potentially dangerous religious rebels who could undermine society's liberal values.

If we look a bit further, to the Norwegian Constitution of 1814, certain restrictions from these qualifications linger on. The constitution here speaks of freedom of 'printing', not the more inclusive phrase Struensee had used 44 years earlier in his rescript, freedom of 'writing'. The few peasants who were represented at Eidsvold in 1814 in fact reacted to this wording. The educated deputies in their turn reacted to the peasants' opposition with arrogance and a patronizing attitude. For them, public opinion was printed, not simply written.[15] Thus common men used to the convention of writing complaints to the king through the *Sorenskriver* were in principle excluded from taking part in the public sphere. Not only were they not properly educated, but they also lacked access to the relevant formats—that is, the papers and journals where written public opinions were printed in a manner that accorded with the rhetorical standards and textual norms of the educated, ruling class in the newly established Kingdom of Norway.

To sum up, freedom of speech in the beginning of the nineteenth century was declared using the rhetoric of liberal ideas, in language recalling Voltaire's open letter to Christian VII after the freedom of writing rescript's publication in 1770. However, these liberal ideas had since been challenged and restrained, and had led to the evolution of interactional and textual norms that defined how public opinion should be expressed in order to be accepted. As a result of this normative cultivation and formation of the public sphere, deputies at Eidsvold in 1814 were easily able to phrase and define a freedom of speech article. However, it was a more qualified right than the one of the free and autonomous member of 'all mankind' on whose behalf Voltaire spoke in 1771.

15 Nils Rune Langeland, *Siste ord. Høgsterett i norsk historie 1814–1905* (Oslo, Cappelen, 2005).

CHAPTER 10

How to Criticize Governmental Policy without Freedom of the Press in Late Eighteenth-Century Denmark–Norway

Hilde Sandvik

During the Napoleonic Wars, the monarchy of Denmark–Norway strove to maintain its neutrality and also to keep the liberal thinking of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution at arm's length. After a period in which its citizens had engaged in free, revolutionary speech, the Danish government reverted to its policies of strictly limiting press freedom through a censorship rescript in 1799. Freedom of the press, along with other liberal themes (such as free trade), had been a popular subject in periodicals in the decades before the Napoleonic Wars: how, then, did authors relate to this changing policy of censorship?

Writers in late eighteenth-century Denmark–Norway did not shy away from political debates. Ideas for reform appeared in the many periodicals of the time. As Dag Michalsen shows in the next chapter, some of these discussions focused on legal and constitutional matters, but projects relating to the economy were another important topic of debate. On the one hand, this accorded with state policy, since economic growth and general well-being were a patriotic concern. However, the economy was also potentially controversial because it involved both social and political issues, including law, health, education, monopolies, and the system of privilege. Economic debates led to discussions of policy questions, such as the regime's efforts to centralize trade and institutions in Copenhagen. Since many of the authors contributing articles and essays to the periodicals were civil servants and members of patriotic societies, they had to present their proposals and criticisms in a way that would avoid offending royal autocratic authority. Appointed by the king and therefore acting as his presumably loyal hands, they were unlikely critics. In fact, one might ask to what degree they could even contribute as men of opinions. Could they in any way act as private persons, as one of Habermas's criteria for a critical public sphere would have demanded?

A closer look at one of the most important Norwegian periodicals for economic issues—*Topographisk Journal for Norge* (*Topographisk Journal for Norway*)—will provide insights into what conditions, restrictions, and political considerations writers faced when presenting proposals and criticism on

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004293113_012

economic issues in late eighteenth-century Denmark–Norway. The focal point for this analysis will be three articles from 1793—the year when the shocking news reached the monarchy that revolutionaries in Paris had executed Louis XVI. These events created an increasingly tense political climate in the 1790s and early 1800s and brought the question of patriotic loyalty in autocratic Denmark–Norway front and centre. *Topographisk Journal for Norge* offers a template for how writers and publishers calling for patriotic reform initiatives negotiated this climate.

The Politics of Print under Autocracy

As Maliks demonstrates in his chapter, censorship laws in the autocratic monarchy of Denmark–Norway were harsh. At the same time, the regime regarded literature and the press as useful and allowed several printing presses and book shops to operate, mainly in the capital, Copenhagen. In 1755 King Frederik V invited submissions of 'theses of general use in economic and physical matters' and welcomed periodicals and publications dealing with economic development. Economic literature in a wide sense became a favoured genre that was not subject to heavy censorship.[1] One important result of the royal invitation was the annual journal *Danmark og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin* (1757–64), and another was an increasing amount of topographical literature, which included descriptions of economic and social conditions in counties or parishes, often with recommendations for improvements in agriculture, commerce, and education. After the brief flirtation with freedom of the press under Struensee (1770–1772), which had opened the floodgates to the public expression of diverse opinions on many topics (see Kjell Lars Berge's chapter), the police and courts resumed their previous course of prosecuting offences against king and government. However, the professors of the University of Copenhagen did not resume the practice of pre-censorship. When in 1784 the Crown Prince Frederik took power and governed in his father's name, censorship policy again changed. Autocracy continued, but the coup d'état brought a new, liberal elite into government. Freedom of the press increased once more, and pamphlets and periodicals praised the liberal regime and press freedom. The Danish press was in fact relatively free during the time of the French Revolution, but in 1799 the royal

1 Mona Ringvej, 'Communicative Power and the Absolutist State: Denmark–Norway c. 1750–1800', in Pasi Ihalainen et al. (eds.), *Scandinavia in the age of Revolution. Nordic political Culture 1740–1829* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), pp. 303–316.

authority again restricted the press, ordering the police to assert strict control and the courts to punish offending literature with high fines and expulsion. During this happy period of reform, the *Topographic Journal for Norway* emerged (in 1791).

At the time when the *Topographisk Journal* was established, several periodicals had for some years already been publishing heated debates on reform ideas and economic projects. The land reform (*Landboreformerne*) of 1788, led by the new men of the 1784 government, gained momentum from a rush of pamphlets and articles in Denmark. Among the authors were several civil servants.[2] Many of them presented heavy criticism of former regimes' policies, which since 1733 had bound men under forty to remain and work on the estates where they were born (*stavnsbånd*). The 1788 land reform abolished this adscription.[3] The same year saw other economic reforms: free grain trade meant that Norway no longer had to buy grain from Denmark, and Norway's monopoly on iron in Denmark ended. Ten years later, in 1797, a new liberal customs law increased open trade.

Norwegians greeted the new regime after 1784 with a mixture of hope and unease. After the events of the 1770s, many probably wondered whether the reforms would last. However, hope seems to have prevailed, and the familiar themes from the previous period of press freedom (e.g. free trade and the creation of a Norwegian university) re-emerged. Such issues had long been a concern for members of patriotic societies, especially in the Norwegian parts of the twin-kingdom. These controversial issues touched upon a central feature of absolutist policy that met with widespread (albeit at times silent) opposition in Norway: the centralization policy that undermined Norway's position as a separate state. The Danish king had put restrictions on trade that rankled the Norwegian part of the twin-kingdom, which had long since enjoyed strong trade relations with several European states and eagerly promoted free trade. The king also refused to allow Norway to have its own university. Many of the members of patriotic societies were merchants and civil servants who naturally had strong opinions on these subjects. But how could they present such issues? What forms of expression would the new regime tolerate?

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2 Thorkild Kjærgaard, 'The Rise of Press and Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century Denmark–Norway', *Scandinavian Journal of History* (1989), pp. 215–230.

3 Birgit Løgstrup, 'Danish Peasants Making Politics in the Eighteenth Century', in Pasi Ihalainen et al. (eds.), *Scandinavia in the age of Revolution. Nordic political Culture 1740–1829* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

Topographisk Journal for Norway 1791–1807

Topographisk Journal for Norge launched its inaugural issue in August 1791 with an invitation to 'the enlightened men of Norway' from the Norwegian Topographic Society to contribute regularly with reports and articles.[4] Citing the industriousness and the economically advanced status of England, Switzerland, and the Netherlands (in contrast to Denmark), the journal invited members of the topographic society to send in articles that reported on economic issues and ideas for improving the economies in their districts. Most of the articles, however, would be regional topographic descriptions of (mainly rural) Norway. The board of the topographic society was an impressive cultural elite: the county governor, the rector of the cathedral school in Christiania (Oslo), and the commissioner of the Christiania police were all among the members of the editorial board. In other words, this was not a secret society but rather an official patriotic society, concerned with economic and social well-being.

Journals of the Danish–Norwegian era typically addressed general topics or local issues rather than questions that affected all of Denmark or Norway. By focusing on Norwegian issues, the *Topographisk Journal* introduced a fresh perspective that appeared almost separatist at a time when official ideology underlined the unity and common interests within the Danish–Norwegian state, the so called *helstatspolitikk* 'whole-state politics'. The government wanted a unified state, with Copenhagen as the capital and no strong regional centre. However, the regime did regard discussions of special Norwegian economic questions as appropriate, and it even included a department of trade and commerce for Norway within the central government in Copenhagen. The natural differences between the two realms did demand some degree of special attention (for example, Norway had much less arable land than Denmark—only 3 percent of its territory—but it produced an abundance of export products like timber, fish, and minerals). However, the regime treated some other issues as occasions for expressing separatist sentiments: a case in point was the series of calls, beginning in 1661, for a Norwegian university or a Norwegian bank.

The county governor and journal editor Frederik grev af Moltke happened to be the king's most prominent executive in Christiania. Writing in the journal, in addition to addressing the periodical's readers, therefore also meant addressing the government in Copenhagen. When Moltke and the other editors accepted an article for publication in the periodical, it was with the

4 *Indbydelse til et Corresponderende Topographisk Selskab for Norge* (Christiania, 1791).

knowledge that the article would be subject to criticism. The kind of criticism appearing in *Topographisk Journal* was the sanctioned kind, approved by the king's executive in the town.[5] Other journals, such as the Copenhagen-edited *Minerva*, were probably more open to outspoken opinions, and several of the *Journal*'s authors published there as well. What is perhaps most interesting about *Topographisk Journal for Norge* is that it was a journal about economic and social issues published and edited at the kingdom's periphery, from a provincial town. As was the case with most other journals, the editors themselves authored several of the articles that appeared in *Topographisk Journal*. However, non-members of these societies also read and reacted to the articles, and as a result, controversies sometimes arose.

Three articles published in 1793 illustrate how periodicals like *Topographisk Journal* framed political questions. Written by two members of the board of a topographical society and a vicar from the southwest coast, these articles raised political themes with economic implications: free trade and the abolishment of guilds; creating a university in Norway; and discussions about the French Revolution. The way the authors—civil servants all appointed by the king—framed the political content of these topics is instructive and relates to the autocratic character of the regime and the changing regimes of censorship.

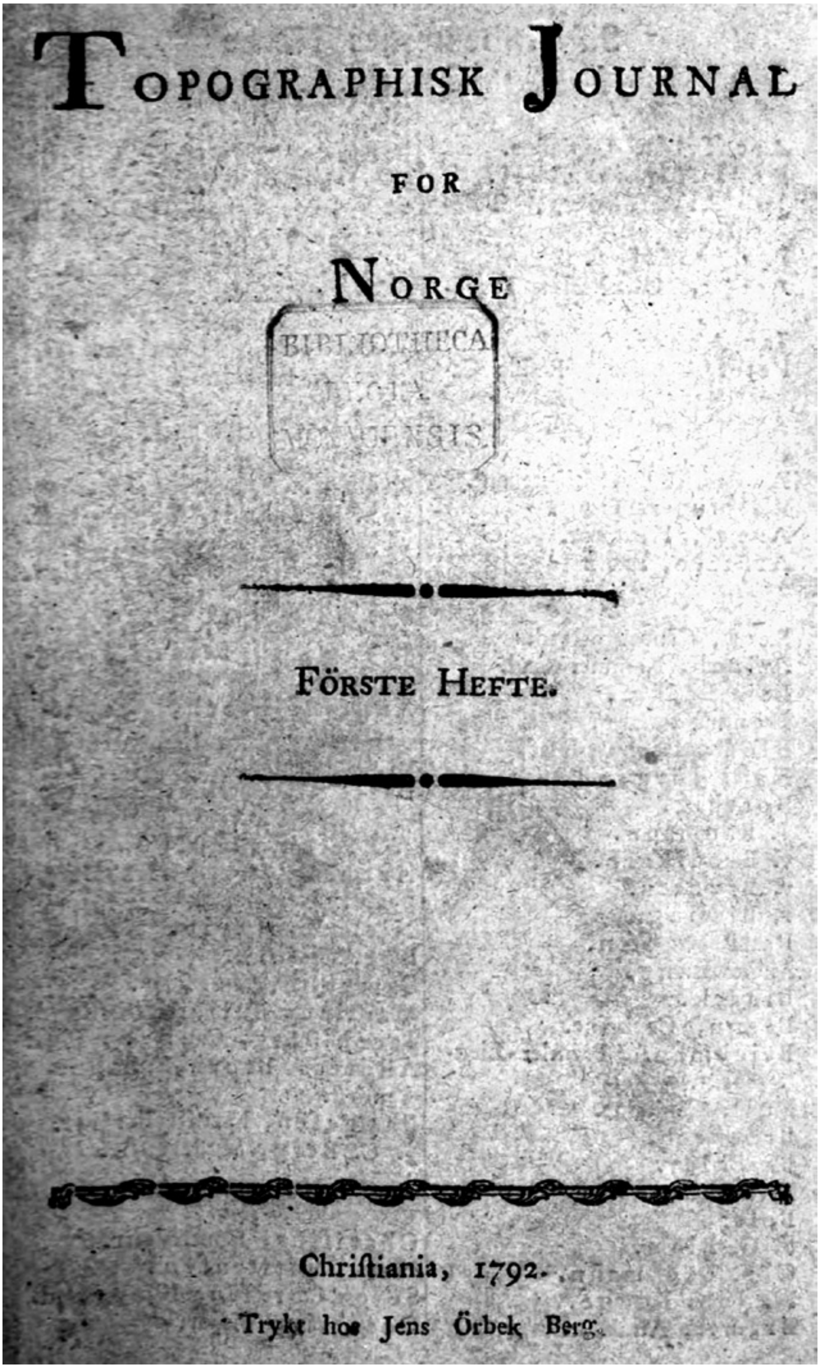
Abolishment of the Guilds

The first of these articles—'On the artisans of Christiania'—could easily be understood as a statement against the French Revolution's ideals of equality. The piece was published in *Topographisk Journal* in 1793 and written by Andreas Bull (1746–96).[6] Bull was a lawyer and former judge who in 1789 was appointed by the king as commissioner of the Christiania (Oslo) police. He was also a Norwegian Topographic Society board member who was close to the Christiania elite. Bull's article opened with comments on consumer habits in which he pointed out that basic requirements for living, such as housing, food, and clothing, have to do not only with needs but also with the level of luxury to which a person is accustomed. As Bull argues, man can live according to the way he has been raised 'because equality neither can be imagined nor realized'.[7]

5 For other studies of *Topographisk Journal*, see Anne Eriksen, *Topografenes verden. Fornminner og fortidsforståelse* (Oslo, Pax forlag, 2007).

6 Andreas Bull, 'Om Haandverkerne i Christania', *Topographisk Journal*, 3 (1793).

7 In Danish, "da en almindelig Lighed hverken kan tænkes eller iverksættes".



TOPOGRAPHISK JOURNAL

FOR

NORGE

FÖRSTE HEFTE.

Christiania, 1792.

Trykt hos Jens Örbek Berg.

ILLUSTRATION 10.1 *The* Topographic Journal for Norway *(1792–1808) printed suggestions of political reform under increasingly strict limits of censorship. Antiqua types signaled a learned readership.*
IMAGE: © THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NORWAY

This was 1793, and the French Revolution was at its height; nevertheless, Bull made no indication that he was a revolutionary.

However, the article also addressed an acute problem affecting consumption. According to Bull, artisans and manufacturers in Denmark–Norway did not produce goods of quality, and citizens were therefore tempted to import from abroad.[8] But importing would oppose the royal protectionism of domestic production that had prevailed for centuries. A loyal citizen's patriotic duty was to shun foreign goods. But new contemporary ideas of freedom made this dilemma more complicated:

> The general language of freedom is that a government has no right to dispose of a citizen's private fortune; therefore [the citizen] can buy all his necessities from whatever place he wants and [try to] get the best quality for the best price: but as members of a state, we should fulfil our obligations towards the state; most important, the individual should put the state's interest before his own [*den privates Fordel bør vige for Statens*].[9] Every patriot does this with pleasure, but he has every right to claim good work for a reasonable price.[10]

The premise behind this statement is important to note. Bull draws on a privacy argument about property rights to assert a basic right of all citizens that takes precedence over the absolutistic king's claim upon his subjects' obedience: "the government has no right to dispose over a citizen's private fortune." Citizens should feel obligated to give priority to the interests of the state, but the state has no right to coerce them into being loyal. Moreover, patriotic consumers of state goods have every right to expect quality domestic products at a reasonable price in exchange for their customer loyalty.

After this introduction Bull outlined the real problem: the artisans in Denmark–Norway lagged behind those in more industrious countries in terms of both the quality and price of their goods. Schools for artisans modelled upon those in England and France (such as Guildseller stocks and Corps des Artes et Métiers) might address the problem. However, Bull's main solution was to abolish all guilds and open trade to benefit all industrious citizens. The new trade would receive encouragement by being allowed to operate tax- and duty-free for several years, but no monopolies or privileges would be allowed.[11]

8 Bull, 'Om Haandverkerne i Christania', p. 78.

9 In Danish, "den private Fordel skulle vike for Staten".

10 Bull, 'Om Haandverkerne i Christania', p. 80.

11 Bull, 'Om Haandverkerne i Christania', p. 94.

Bull concluded that a good education and the freedom to develop virtues were the foundations upon which any country should allow its genius to emerge and thrive.[12]

In some ways, Bull's criticism of the poor quality of crafts and manufactured goods fed into efforts by the department of commerce in Copenhagen to stimulate new industries. However, Bull's proposal about abolishing guilds had a radical aspect to it. A year later, in 1794, several pamphlets and booklets published in Copenhagen delivered a similar criticism of the guilds.[13] They included a recommendation to the government on the subject of guilds, dated 1758, by Henrik Stampe (1713–1789), the former government's judicial advisor (*generalprokurør*). This 1758 piece was published in a new edition of Stampe's edited, collected works.[14] In it Stampe argued that guilds prevented poor people from making a living; Stampe recommended that healthy young men should not take on professions that were better suited to women (e.g. being tailors). His advice in 1758 had led the government to modify guild regulations and open them up to poor people, but the regime stopped short of allowing free trade.

The year 1794 was a dramatic one in Copenhagen. The royal castle Christiansborg burned down in February, and the quarters nearby were also damaged and had to undergo extensive renovations. In July the carpenter journeymen at work on the project, most of them German, went on strike and refused to follow police orders.[15] Leading members of the elite now openly declared scepticism about the German-influenced guild system, and many booklets with anti-guild arguments pointed with alarm to the events in France. One author even found it necessary to underline in the title of his pamphlet that he was not a Jacobin.[16] No doubt he wanted to signal that he was no French revolutionary

12 Bull, 'Om Haandverkerne i Christania', p. 93: "Jeg tror derfor at en god Opdragelse, og Frihed at udvikle sine medfødte Evner, vil frembringe Genier i ethvert Land."

13 *En skrivelse til den af Hans Majestæt Kongen satte commision til at undersøge laugenes forfatning* (Copenhagen, 1794); *Intet Jacobinerie, men sand patriotisk iver, foranlediget af en borgervens forslag om laugenes ophævelse* (Copenhagen, 1794), p. 16; *Forslag til alle Laugsmestrene i Kjøbenhavn angaaende Laugenes Ophævelse / tilegnet Borgerstanden af en Borgerven* (Copenhagen, 1794), p. 16.

14 'Tanker over Laugene og Laugs-Artiklerne i Almindelighed : afgivne i en Erklæring som General-Prokureur i Aaret 1760 over en Memorial til det Kongl. Danske Cancellie fra Urtekræmmer-Lauget i Kjøbenhavn af 22 August 1758', in Henrik Stampe, *Erklæringer, Breve og Forestillinger, General-Prokureur-Embedet vedkommende,* (6 vols., 1793–1797), II.

15 Edit Rasmussen, *Mester og svend* (Universitetsforlaget, Århus, 1985).

16 *Intet Jacobinerie, men sand patriotisk iver, foranlediget af en borgervens forslag om laugenes ophævelse.*

and did not advocate the abolition of all privileges. In effect, he positioned himself much the same way that Bull had a year earlier, when he declared that equality was neither possible nor sensible.

The dramatic situation in 1794, the negative attitude among the elite towards the guild system, and the many booklets that came out in that year all help to explain the absence of critical remarks about Bull from readers of the topographic journals. Bull may have criticized the guilds for the privilege they enjoyed, but so did the government itself. Bull may therefore be interpreted as an opponent of guilds whose criticism the government accepted. When he published his article in 1793, before the wave of criticism levelled at the guilds after the Christiansborg fire of 1794, he may have felt that the liberal reform-oriented regime would accept criticism from him, a civil servant and head of the Christiania police who was charged with enforcing the very laws he was criticizing.

Bull's political argument about 'the general language of freedom' and privacy does not seem to have provoked his fellows in the topographic societies or the government. Yet his advocacy of a free market and liberal economic policy was in fact a radical stance for a civil servant to take. So why didn't his article come under criticism?

In some respects Bull's arguments about the regime's obligations towards citizens resembled the moral economy argument E.P. Thompson identified in the language of early modern British uprisings.[17] Similar arguments about the government's obligation to prevent destitution were also used by hungry peasants during food riots in Norway, when the grain trade failed as a result of the Napoleonic Wars.[18] Of course Danish law did not accept arguments of this nature, although it would have taken the rioters' 'material rights' into account when considering punishment for their illegal actions.[19] Bull's notion of loyalty as something in dispute, which the government risked losing if it failed to meet its responsibilities towards its citizens, could be an indication that ideas like 'material rights' and individual freedom had trumped the ideology of obedience under Denmark–Norway's absolute monarchy.

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17 E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present* (1971), pp. 76–136.

18 Marthe Glad Munch-Møller, 'Hungersnød og verdighet i Dybvåg 1801', in Knut Dørum and Hilde Sandvik (eds.) *Opptøyer i Norge 1750–1850* (Oslo, Scandinavian Academic Press, 2010), pp. 259–286.

19 Dag Michalsen, '"Grændseskillet imellem Trykkefrihed og Trykkefrækhet" - Johan Frederik Wilhelm Schlegel, *Astræa* og trykkefrihetens grenser', in Hilde Sandvik (ed.), *Demokratisk teori og historisk praksis. Forutsetninger for folkestyre 1750–1850* (Oslo, Scandinavian Academic Press, 2010), pp. 197–215, 221.

But although the government and members of the Topographic Society remained silent about Bull's article, members of the guilds themselves did not. As Christiania (Oslo) Police Commissioner, Andreas Bull was charged with enforcing the guild's privileges and arresting those who worked without permission. The guilds in Christiania therefore took extreme umbrage at Bull's complaints about the poor quality of their work.[20] In several articles and wall posters the kingdom's bakers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, and shoemakers protested. According to the artisans, Bull, as head of the police, should defend the guilds rather than criticizing them. The shoemakers' guild published its protest against Bull's criticism as a booklet and article in the Christiania newspaper *Intelligenz-sedler*.[21] According to the guild, Bull's defamations would ensure that no journeyman would now want to join the Christiania guild. They wondered what would become of quality if every farmer were allowed to produce. Judging from reactions like these, most of the guilds condemned the police commissioner in Christiania for giving his private opinion on matters under his office and felt that it was his duty to enforce the regime's law and privileges.

Bull's liberal views were well known to the regime and therefore presumably acceptable when he was appointed police commissioner in 1789. In 1786 Andreas Bull had published a book in Copenhagen titled *Manufacturing and production based on domestic resources*,[22] in which he strongly defended free trade and frequently quoted Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.[23] Bull underlined that his mission was not to discuss 'state policy', but since policy did influence production and industry, he referred to 'Sully, Montesquieu, Stewart, Smidt,

20 Paul Holmsen, *Kristiania politis historie 1624–1884* (Kristiania, Fabritius forlag, 1884), p. 87; Henrik Grevenor, *Fra laugstiden i Norge* (Oslo, Kristiania haandverks-og industriforening, 1925), p. 130.

21 *Nogle Tanker i Anledning det af S.T. Hr. A. Bull. tredie Hefte af den topographisk Journal for Norge: Om Haandverkerne i Christiania* / undertegn.: Skomagerlauget i Christiania Tillæg til *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler*, 19 (1793). 'Oplysning til hr. Cancellie Raad og politimester Bulls Afhandling: Om Haandverkerne i Christiania; for saa vidt same angaard Skrædderlauget her i Staden', *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler*, 23 (1793). From the carpenters: 'Et par Ord', *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler*, 23 (1793). From the blacksmiths guild: 'Til Læserne af den Topographiske Journal for Norge', *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler*, 26 (1793).

22 Andreas Bull, *Oekonomiske Tanker om Fabrikvæsenet og raae Produkters Forarbeidelse i Landet*, (Copenhagen, Gyldendals Forlag, 1786).

23 Bull, *Oekonomiske Tanker*, p. 86: "Dr. Smidt i hans Undersøgelse om NationalVelstand siger, 'at en fuldkommen Handelsfrihed vil i et Land være det kraftigste Middel til med Tiden at forsyne sig med alle Haandværkere, Manufakturister og Kiøbmænd, som mangle hiemme".

[and] Necker', who had expanded the 'cameral sciences'.[24] ('Cameral sciences' was the eighteenth-century term for economics.) Among the many suggestions in Bull's book were proposals for relocating companies and society for long distance trade on Greenland and Finnmark. Copenhagen had for long had the monopoly on this trade, and Bull suggested relocation to the Norwegian cities Bergen and Trondheim. The book's audience was clearly the new liberal government in Copenhagen, established after the crown prince's coup d'état in 1784. After the publication appeared Bull became district judge in Strinda; two years after that he became Christiania Police Commissioner. Free grain trade was among Bull's suggestions for a better economy. This was acceptable criticism at this time. In 1788, as part of a liberal policy and land reform, the new regime in Copenhagen had abolished the Danish grain monopoly. But for Bull's suggestions about a Norwegian bank and university, there were no signals of political will. However, in 1793 the university issue was again on the agenda, this time fronted by another civil servant.

A University in Norway[25]

On 20 March 1793, Jacob Nicolai Wilse (1736–1801), a vicar and board member of the Norwegian Topographic Society, invited his fellow citizens to appeal to the king for the creation of a university in Norway. His pamphlet was printed as an article in the *Topographic Journal* that same year.

Wilse began by describing the unhappiness of a kingdom without an academy and the difficulty of fulfilling its patriotic duty of enlightening the country. His main argument for a university in Norway was an economic one, in the narrow sense of the word: Norwegian parents who had to send their sons to study in Copenhagen (a necessity if the sons were to become civil servants and maintain their social standing) faced a heavy economic burden. He noted the many pamphlets that had been published in favour of an academy in Norway during the press freedom the monarchy had enjoyed since the 1770's.[26] Opposing the

24 Bull, *Oekonomiske Tanker*, p. 8: "At berøre Statspolitiken er ei min Hensigt, men for saavidt den har Indflydelse paa et Lands raae Produkter og Fabrikvæsenet, har jeg allene nævnet den. Stats- og KammeralVidenskaberne ere i de seenere Tider, især ved en Sully, Montesquieu, Stewart, Smidt, Necker, udvidede."

25 Jacob Nicolai Wilse, 'Gjenopptrykk av professor Wilses indbydelse til at ansøge om et Universitet i Norge' *Topographisk Journal*, 4 (1793), p. 131. Previously printed in *Norske Intellligenz- Sedler*.

26 Wilse, 'Gjenopptrykk av professor Wilses indbydelse til at ansøge om et Universitet i Norge': "Den Ulykksalighed, som riser sig af det, at dette Rige har intet Academie i sit Skjød, eller

argument that the University of Copenhagen would lose its function as an essential link between the two kingdoms if Norway were allowed its own university, Wilse spoke out for the freedom to seek knowledge and to study wherever and with whomever one wanted.[27] Thus he called for multiple universities in Denmark–Norway and encouraged his fellow citizens to take a stand on the issue. The Christiania magnate Bernt Anker responded by publishing an enthusiastic article in the local newspaper supporting Wilse's proposal.[28]

In June 1793 a meeting convened in Christiania to discuss plans for a university and to prepare a petition to the king.[29] We know from private correspondence that this meeting was regarded with some hesitation and suspicion (see below). Nevertheless, the meeting of forty men resulted in plans to hold a competition that would entertain proposals for such a plan. Attitudes towards the idea of a Norwegian university were positive, especially with the prospect of big donations from two childless Christiania magnates. The committee in Christiania received numerous plans and proposals. The main criticisms of Wilse's article came from the University of Copenhagen, where some argued that it was unwise to spend scarce resources on two universities. From the county governor Moltke's private correspondence we know that he supported the plans and worked for a university in Christiania. Moltke also attempted to sway the crown prince in favour of the plan through a friend in Copenhagen, Chamberlain Bülow. Unfortunately the king declined to finance an academy or university in Norway. Attempts to finance the plan through donations from the Christiania magnates also fell through.

The Norwegian university case touched upon issues of obedience and loyalty to the king and state, as Bull's pro-free-trade, anti-guild article had. In this case loyalty to the king was also questioned, but in another way. In the Christiania newspaper Niels Treschow, rector of the cathedral school and a member of the board of the Topographic Society, objected to establishing a committee to promote a plan for a university without permission from the

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anden Lære. Anstalt gives for nogen af Kjønnet, til at at lære alt det som behøves i det daglige Liv, er af det slags, hvorover Naturen maae sukke, Fornuften selv ivre sig, og Forældres Hjerter blöde. Det er derfor ej at undre, at man endelig i de sidste 20 Aar, da Trykkefriheden er bleven tilladt, ogsaa derved har publiceret adskilligt om et Academie i Norge."

27 Wilse, 'Gjenopptrykk av professor Wilses indbydelse til at ansøge om et Universitet i Norge', p. 132: "Af Politikens og modsatte Maximer er vel denne den vigtigste; et eneset Academie er et godt Baand imellem 2 Riges undersaatter; men mon den Frihed at söge Lærdom og lærere, hvorhelst man synes bedst....."

28 Bernt Anker, *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler*, 22, (29 May 1793).

29 John Peter Collett, *Universitetet i Oslo 1811–1870. Universitetet i nasjonen*, (Oslo, Unipub, 2011), pp. 53–85. All quotations in this and the next paragraph are from this volume.

government. Nevertheless, the private initiative for a meeting on creating a university had gained support. As one newspaper article put it, "Should not a free people have the right to hold a meeting for deliberations?" Private correspondence reveals that the meeting in Christiania without permission from local authorities aroused suspicion. Even respectable civil servants feared that their patriotic mission might be misconstrued: "They feared that the meeting could be regarded as a sort of protest meeting—*Stempling*—as we call unruly meetings starting illegal actions," Wilse explained in a letter to a Danish professor. From Moltke's correspondence we can see that he supported the cause and attempted to use his connections to influence the crown prince. This indicates that in fact there was nothing to fear from the local authorities and that the government took no action to repress his activity in support of a university. However, Wilse's private correspondence and Niels Treschow's newspaper article reveal that members of the board of the Topographic Society were aware that some construed their activity as an act of disloyalty to the king and the state. This underlines the point that even nine years after coming to power, the new regime encountered some hesitation and unease from its citizens. Obviously the dramatic events in France that year may have contributed this.

The historian John Peter Collett, the author of the Oslo University History (2011), has recently analysed the university case as a middle-class claim to a less expensive education. Office was not inheritable: becoming a civil servant required taking exams. The only road to the meritocratic middle class in Norway was therefore threatened by the cost of sending sons to study in Copenhagen and paying for their upkeep during their education. Wilse himself wrote about his anxiety over financing the education of his ten children. A university in Norway had clear potential benefits for the middle class, but the case was controversial because it was perceived as a challenge to the coherence of the centralized autocratic state.

Absolutism vs. the French Revolution

In 1793 Jens Zetlitz (1761–1821), a vicar in Lye on Jæren at the southwest coast since 1791 and a former member of the Norwegian society in Copenhagen, published a long poem in the *Topographisk Journal*. (Zetlitz was not a member of the Topographic Society board.) The poem concerned the disturbing political events in France, and Zetlitz stressed the Norwegians' loyalty to their kings.[30] Some of the verses in the poem concerned loyalty:

30 Jens Zetlitz, *Topographisk Journal*, 5 (1793), p. 80.

> When the unlucky Gallia
> Having just danced in chains of despotism
> Fly drunken into Scylla's throat.
> To avoid Charybdis
> ...
> You, Norway, are loyal to your Kings
> ...
> Among your mountains Freedom lives
> And still your day of freedom has not ended.
> In the shadows of Autocracy freedom grows
> When wisdom with justice and care
> For the country's best around the Prince's throne thrives.

Zetlitz's lines envisage advisors guiding the Prince with wisdom and justice, with freedom as the utmost goal (as the threefold repetition of the word *freedom* in the last strophe emphasizes). In this context loyalty to the king is predicated on his role as the guarantor of freedom. But what kind of freedom was this? Was it freedom in the old sense of a town or a social group's freedom to engage in trade and avoid the encumbrance of taxes? Or was it general freedom in the modern sense—of the press, of assembly, or of trade? In other words, was the subjects' loyalty dependent upon the king keeping the old privileges or freedoms, or was loyalty connected to the king's will to support general freedoms—like press and trade freedom? Zetlitz's poem was not clear about this, and he made no statements like Bull's about *the general language of freedom*. In the coming years some articles in the *Topographisk Journal* touched upon such questions without making the concept of freedom clearer. In periodicals like *Minerva* the authors printed apologies for press freedom, probably caused by a consciousness of what was happening to the press in other European states under the revolutionary wars. The articles in the *Topographisk Journal* did not touch upon such problems.

Freedom and Reform in the Years 1794–1799

Most of the articles in the years that followed were plain topographic descriptions. None of the pieces promoted general freedom, and references to freedom seemed to correspond to the old sense of freedom as securing privileges. For example, a description of Fredrikshald in 1794 praised Norway's freedom using the earlier sense of the word: "Norway's noble and never misused freedom, Norway's special and true property, will be the securest sign for the

government's fatherly concern that will always value true and happy subjects."[31] Free trade was not the ultimate goal. In 1797 a liberal customs law had created better conditions for foreign trade. However, the negative consequences of trade were mentioned in the *Topographisk Journal* more often that year. In a description of the district Trysil in eastern inland Norway in 1798, the author explained how the timber trade had led to less agriculture and too much money spent on tobacco.[32] "A Don Quixote could not be more in love with his Dulcinea than Trysild (people of Trysil) in their dear Tobacco. Boys as well as old men, and also a great majority of the women love this bitter plant."[33] However, the author still praised the girls who went to nearby markets and to Sweden and brought their earnings home in linen. Articles like this could be interpreted as a sign of modern trade that was undermining traditional values. One could even interpret the piece more broadly, as a critique of the regime's more liberal trade policy resulting from the customs law of 1797.

In 1799 a new law restricted freedom of the press. Criticism of the king, the regime, other royal kingdoms, and civil servants was no longer tolerated. Satire and humour were expressly forbidden. For the authors in the *Topographisk Journal* the new law had consequences. The journal had already faded away as an instrument of criticism—other journals were probably better for that purpose—but in 1799 the new press policies became eminently clear. In a poem published in 1798, a young author had criticized the quality of the schools in Bergen.[34] The next year the rector of the cathedral school in Bergen published a very angry answer, charging that the poem showed 'wickedness'.[35] 'Wickedness' was one of the criteria in the 1799 law that could lead to punishment. The weight of the 1799 decree had clearly become part of the editorial agenda.

Criticism did still occur after 1799, but it was longer directed towards the regime. In 1801, an article about Nordland County pleaded for fishermen's right to trade with whomever they wanted. Bergen's monopoly had led to poverty among the fishermen of the north, and Bergen's merchants were becoming so

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31 *Topographisk Journal,* 10 (1794), p. 37, (Beskrivelse av Fredrichshald): "Norges ædle og aldrig misbrugte Friehed, Norge særege og sande Ejendomsret, blive i øvrigt stedse den sikreste Borgen for Regjeringens sande faderlige hensigter og omhu altid vil frydes ved tro og lykkelige Undersaatter."

32 *Topographisk Journal,* 23 (1798), p. 26.

33 *Topographisk Journal,* 23 (1798), p. 104: "Ikke en Don Qvixote var saa forlesket i sin Duleniea, som Trysilderen i sin hiertens kiære Tobaks—Rus". p. 105: "Drenge ligesaavel som gamle Mænd ja en stor Deel af Qvinderne elske denne bitre Plante."

34 *Topographisk Journal*, 22 (1798).

35 *Topographisk Journal*, 25 (1799), F.C.H. Arentz, rector of the cathedral school in Bergen, answer to 'I anledning af det i Journalens 22 Hefte indrykkede Digt om Bergen'.

rich that many of them outdid the king's civil servants.[36] Trade with the merchants in Bergen therefore had fatal consequences for the rest of the country. The author wrote that the country could not be saved from ruin "unless the wise Government with God's grace and help did make changes, to His Majesty's honour and interest and the subjects' own happiness".[37] The criticism no longer included pleas for the government to step aside; rather, it was a cry for stronger leadership that could abolish unfair monopolies and punish the greedy merchants. The Copenhagen regime had already reformed trade in northern Norway. In 1789 free trade was allowed with Finnmark, and by the king's decision Hammerfest, at 70.7°N, became a city.

The *Topographisk Journal* closed down in 1808, when the war between England and Denmark changed the political landscape. English ships controlled the seas and hindered both trade and communication from Norway. In Norway an interim government formed to run Norway when the communication with Copenhagen was broken. Many of the members of the Topographic Society became members of the Society for Norway's Welfare, *Selskabet for Norges Vel*. A patriotic newspaper, *Budstikken*, covered actual news. In these years loyalty to the king became a troubling question. The issues from the 1790s were again on the agenda, and in 1811 the king approved a Norwegian university.

In January 1814, as a result of the dramatic shift in political alliances during the Napoleonic Wars, Norway was transferred from the Danish to the Swedish king. This provoked an uprising in Norway. A constitutional assembly convened and Norway adopted a constitution. The Norwegian Constitution of 1814 proclaimed a free press and free trade, and no new privileges or monopolies. However, existing guilds continued long after absolutism. First in 1839 and again in 1842 trade legislation opened up this field. The periodical transfers of ideas of the eighteenth century certainly had started a process, even if real political changes came many years later.

Conclusion

The fact that the authors of the pieces discussed here were civil servants did not prevent some of them from criticizing the regime's economic policies. The

36 *Topographisk Journal* (1801), p. 188.

37 *Topographisk Journal* (1801), p. 188. "Saa skadelig har da Handelen været i Landet, at Undertrykkelse og Fattigdom har taget overhaand, at Landet kan nu ikke mere reddes fra undergang, med mindre den vise Regjering ved Guds Naade og Bistand heri saavelsom i alle Dele gjør en Hovedforandring til Hans Majestets Ære og Interesse og Undersaatternes egen Lyksalighed."

articles just examined could be characterized as informed criticism directed at a broad but exclusive audience. They touch on questions of loyalty and are interesting because they expose the areas of accepted criticism under autocracy. In the case of the *Topographisk Journal for Norge*, strict policies seem to have affected the themes and approaches to issues in the pieces they published. In the long run the criticism presented there became constructive, especially in the years after 1807, when Norwegian interests entered the political agenda, and finally in 1814, with the adoption of the Norwegian Constitution and the legislative process of a constitutional monarchy that followed.

CHAPTER 11

Legislators, Journals, and the Public Legal Sphere in Scandinavia around 1800[1]

Dag Michalsen

Law and the Legal Public Sphere

In 1804 the Swedish King Gustaf IV barred all information about the new Napoleonic Civil Code in Sweden.[2] The French Civil code had been published on 21 March, and the king's decree of 4 December demonstrated his determination to limit public discussions on legal reforms. This peculiar restriction at the height of the Napoleonic wars may initially have been mainly an expression of the Swedish king's feverishly anti-French and anti-Napoleonic sentiments. Nevertheless, this curb on information was also a clear attempt at hindering the transfer of legal ideas and restricting the public sphere by way of a norm-regulating decree. Moreover, the decree stated that all debates on France had to "avoid all partial assessment," meaning that French-friendly corners of Swedish public life—which included many lawyers—had to be careful what they said.

Beyond Sweden the reaction to the French Code was quite different: German legal journals in particular eagerly debated it,[3] and since these journals were not banned in Sweden, Swedish audiences could follow the debates there. In effect, the ban on discussing the Napoleonic Civil Code proved counterproductive and only increased an interest in the topic. The Swedish king had attempted

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1 Some parts of this text have previously been published in Norwegian in Ola Mestad, (ed.) *Frihetens forskole* (Oslo, Pax, 2013), pp. 244–259.

2 In fact, even ways of naming the French Emperor were restricted at that time: 'Bonaparte' was the only legal way of referring to him. Elmar Nyman, *Indragningsmakt och tryckfrihet 1785–1810* (Stockholm 1963), pp. 122–124; Tore Frängsmyr, *Svensk idéhistoria* (2. vols., Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 2000), p. 422; see also on Kantianism in Sweden around 1800, Svante Nordin, *Romantikens filosofi. Svensk idealism från Höijer till hegelianerna* (Lund, Doxa, 1987), pp. 40–47.

3 See Barbara Dölemeyer, 'Kodifikation Deutschland' (1982) in Helmut Coing, *'Kodifikation Deutschland',* in Helmut Coing (ed.), *Handbuch der Quellen und Literatur der neueren europäischen Privatrechtsgeschichte* (3 vols., München, 1982), III. 1432–1436; Elisabeth Fehrenbach, *Vom Ancien Régime zum Wiener Kongress* (München, Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. 82–94, and Werner Schubert and Mathias Schmoeckel (eds.), *200 Jahre Code Civil: Die napoleonische Kodifikation in Deutschland und Europa* (Köln, Böhlau Köln, 2012).

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a similar restriction five years earlier: in 1799, for slightly different reasons, he attempted to curb debates on Kantian philosophy, which he feared might incite revolutionary fervour. Kantian philosophy was the most important model of theoretical discussions on law and legal science at the time, and by restricting it, the 1799 statute sought to limit legal discussions in much the same way as did the 1804 law.

The opposite attitude toward Kant and legal debates prevailed in Denmark–Norway, an absolutist monarchy. There, Kantian philosophy attained an almost official status and filled the pages of the kingdom's major legal journals. One might ask oneself why Kant should have been permissible in Copenhagen but not in Stockholm, given that the regimes were generally quite similar in political outlook. It seems to be quite paradoxical that the same conditions for legal-political communication could lead to such different conclusions regarding this centrally important legal philosopher. Geopolitical reasons may be involved: Denmark and Sweden had sharply diverging foreign policies. But more to the point, the political and academic elites in these two countries understood Kant in highly different ways. Swedish elites saw Kant as a potential democratic revolutionary, whereas their Danish counterparts saw him as a complex philosopher whose ideas could easily be interpreted as conforming to those of the regime. Such interpretations of philosophical-political texts comprised some of the ongoing debates in different learned journals that were often influenced by central actors in politics, bureaucracy, and academia. Thus an apparently theoretical question could be politicized or depoliticized, depending upon how the political elite wanted to understand the issue.

This story about the role of Kant or the Civil Code in legal communication raises the question of how legal thoughts were communicated and integrated in structures of what I call a public *legal* sphere around 1800. This public legal sphere came about partly through legislative actions themselves, partly through the publications of court practices, and partly through public debates on law (what I would label social communications on law). Legal journals played an important part in these debates throughout Europe. In this Chapter I will use the legal journals of Denmark–Norway, with a particular emphasis on *Astræa* (1797–1805), to focus on the reception of Kantian constitutional thinking as it was interpreted by the Danish legal scholar and elite bureaucrat Johan Fredrik Wilhelm Schlegel (1765–1836). *Astræa* serves as a point of intersection between liberal legal thinking within an absolutist system and the specific ways in which legal journals function in a public legal sphere.

For any historical understanding of the legal journals in absolutist Denmark–Norway around 1800, one must take into account some specific features quite at odds with central conceptions of Enlightenment public spheres. Although

some theories would have it that a specific bourgeois public sphere existed outside the circles of state power, in the case of the Danish–Norwegian monarchy, dynamic interactions took place between the two. This was particularly true in the formations of legal public spheres where the state bureaucracy, which was responsible for legislation and court practices, had an apparent interest. However, these interactions between state power and the public sphere were often asymmetrical, as the legal journals demonstrate. On the one hand, it was in the interest of academic lawyers to create social and intellectual spaces for the academic legal communications often carried out in legal journals. On the other hand, state institutions had a manifest interest in having a wide public forum for their own decisions and publications. Thus the state bureaucrats insinuated themselves (or, perhaps we should say, negotiated themselves) into these academic arenas. These different and uneven interests must be taken into account if we are to gain a complex historical understanding of legal journals at the time.

A number of legal journals filled this double function of giving a forum to academic lawyers debating law in a rather free (even critical) manner, *and* giving voice to the state's views, albeit not always in a formal or official manner. The legal journals of the eighteenth century often had these sometimes competing interests: one between law and politics, the other between academic-literary functions and the official legal source function of these journals.

Legal Journals and the Public Sphere around 1800

From the beginning of the eighteenth century a number of new legal journals appeared in Europe as part of the political and philosophical Enlightenment. A famous start had been the German journal *Monatsgespräche*, published in Halle by Christian Thomasius in the years 1688–1690. A journal devoted to applying natural law in practice,[4] *Monatsgespräche* was the forerunner to a number of journals in the German states and other countries. These journals focused on themes that had both legal and political aspects, such as the legal character of a state given its political constraints, or the legal understanding of private property in a state that is transitioning from feudalism to a free-market

4 Otto Dann, 'Die Zeitschriften im Rahmen der deutschen Aufklärungsgesellschaft', in Michael Stolleis (ed.), *Juristische Zeitschriften: Die neuen Medien des 18.–20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 1999), pp. 1–13 and Diethelm Klippel, 'Die juristischen Zeitschriften im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert', in Michael Stolleis (ed.), *Juristische Zeitschriften: Die neuen Medien des 18.–20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 1999), pp. 15–39.

society. In addition to these legal-political journals, more distinctly defined legal journals emerged that focused on subjects such as Roman law, private law themes, or other legal-technical issues. These journals primarily addressed an emerging class of professional lawyers at the end of the eighteenth century.

What characterized these legal journals in particular, as opposed to the variety of other journals that also dealt with state policy, were the distinct tensions between their academic-literary function and their official legal source function. This tension gave them a composite status within the public sphere in that they structurally facilitated a certain negotiation between academic lawyers and those lawyers formally tied to the elite bureaucracy. Most legal journals were not just literary in character, they were important as publications for legal state practices (often called legal sources), such as legislation, official statements, and court practice. The interesting institutional factor here was that the content of these journals spanned from almost esoteric legal philosophy that could interest very few, to core legislative statements that all lawyers had to address when they interpreted law. But this trend also reflected the range of the legal profession itself, which participated directly in running the state but also existed at the fringe of the power structure.

Between 1774 and 1812 there were nine periodicals in Denmark–Norway that defined themselves as legal journals. In addition there were other journals—such as the famous *Minerva*—that published a number of legal-political articles. In these journals the voice of the state made itself heard either through articles on court practices or in the form of statements from the legislature (for example, involving preparatory work for laws in the making). In some of the journals content focused on state practice; in others, especially around 1800, academic articles predominated. There can be no doubt that this trend signalled a development of more independent legal journals by the end of the century, although they could only remain independent if they avoided openly contradicting state policy.

This system of interactions in these journals—between academic lawyers forming legal public spheres on the one hand, and the state bureaucracy acting in its legislative and judicial interests on the other—must be understood in its historical setting. These interactions stemmed in part from the great legal-political debates from the Natural Law movement and also from the debates concerning legal professionalization throughout Europe. Another aspect of this background was the unique historical epoch of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars from 1792 to 1815, which triggered the formation of a distinct legal public sphere. The extraordinary upheavals of this period, with continuous warfare for twenty-five years (causing changing territories between states, the destruction of some states and the foundation of many new ones), created

an immense production of new norms, expressed through treatises, constitutions, administrative regulations, and codifications. These changes led to an intriguing bit of feedback: all of these legal-technical devices such as constitutions and codifications shaped an *increase in the potential differential norm production*, offering the political actors a host of legal possibilities for defining and preserving particular states of political and economic affairs. No doubt this historical situation explains the striking increase in legal journals around Europe at the time. The issue now is how these tools of legal communication were filled with ideological argumentation. At the turn of the century important debates on constitutional issues were going on in the Danish–Norwegian state. But how can we analyse such debates on constitutional issues within the framework of a legal journal having both academic and state functions *and* where the Kantian philosophy played an important role, seemingly at odds with the political order of the Danish–Norwegian state?

Schlegel's Legal Journal *Astræa* and the Theory of Liberal Absolutism

Whereas the Swedish absolutist king had banned all discussions on Kantian philosophy, Danish–Norwegian policy was quite the opposite. Nowhere do we see this more clearly than in Schlegel's legal journal *Astræa*, whose first volumes focused heavily on Kant. However, Schlegel's reception of Kantianism centred on much more than philosophical and political opinions: it was the reception of a new language, generating new words on issues like the utility of the state, the concept of citizenry, and the relationship between the state and citizens. At this point the importance of legal journals became apparent: only a journal, often in interaction with other similar journals both at home and abroad, could achieve the effect of an innovative political language. The main reason for this is that legal journals over time could more freely explore basic legal-political concepts, such as freedom, constitution, citizen, and rights—all in shifting intellectual and political contexts.

The formal constitution of Denmark–Norway had been absolutist since 1660, but starting in the 1770s liberal reforms began and even accelerated during the 1790s. These reforms represented a cautious politics of freedom within the framework of absolutism, and they were made possible by the stable geopolitical era before the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars, in which Denmark later became involved.

Among the liberal issues of this period, freedom of expression was the most debated theme during the steady rise of newspapers and journals. The 1790s

were also a decade of legal reforms: major reforms of the court system were carried out, and legal education led to the creation of a new educated legal professional class.[5] These professionals—lawyers in Copenhagen and the smaller cities of the dual monarchy—now formed a significantly informed audience, a legal public sphere.

From the 1770s to the 1790s six periodicals can be characterized as legal journals because their main object was to debate and understand the legal system.[6] Under absolutism lawyers had to deliver opinions about legislation within strictly defined limits, so in the pieces they wrote for journals they tended to compile information on court practices rather than debate legislation. But this apparently non-political activity had the effect of enlarging the legal public sphere because it made the public aware of what the courts actually did. Merely making legal material more available to the public contributed to public awareness of what making law in society was about. The six journals were quite different in style and legal pretensions; still, their cumulative effect was that they gave a legal vocabulary to the practice of law. A major step in establishing this new legal public sphere was represented by Schlegel's *Astræa*, which was by any European standards a substantial legal journal. It was "the first Nordic legal journal due to its diverse character".[7] *Astræa* belonged to the veritable explosion of general journals in Denmark–Norway in the late 1780s and 1790s, a period with relative and shifting ideas of freedom of expression.

In this climate of relatively wide opportunity for freedom of expression, *Astræa* seems to have issued quite freely from Schlegel's own legal and philosophical interests. Approximately half of the material was written by Schlegel himself. His interest in constitutional theory and Kantian legal philosophy was particularly evident in the first two volumes of 1797 to 1799. As the Napoleonic Wars broke out, a distinct shift occurred from constitutional issues to those of international law. The Second League of Armed Neutrality (1800 to 1801) intended to protect neutral shipping against the British Navy's wartime policy of unlimited search of neutral shipping. (The British were searching for French contraband in an attempt to cut off military supplies and other trade to

5 Jørn Øyrehagen Sunde, *'Fornuft og erfarenhed': Framveksten av metodisk medvit i dansknorsk rett på 1700-talet* (Det juridiske fakultet, University of Bergen, 2007).

6 The six legal journals were as follows: Friedrich Wilhelm Wiwet (ed.), *Forsøg til Fortæling om mærkværdige Danske og Norske Sager udført i Høyeste Ret*, I–III (Copenhagen, 1774–1776); Peder Magnus Trojel (ed.), *Juridiske Tilskuer* (Copenhagen, 1776); Lorentz Ewensen (ed.), *Samlinger af juridiske og historiske Materier* (Trondheim, 1784–1786); Hans Nicolai Nissen (ed.), *Themis. Et Tidsskrivt*, I-X (Copenhagen, 1796–1805); J.H. Bährens (ed.), *Juridisk Lommebog* (1795–1797); Jacob Just Gudenrath, *Juridisk Bibliothek* (Copenhagen, S. Poulsens Forlag, 1798).

7 Lars Björne, *Patrioter och institutionalister* (Lund, Bloms Boktryckeri, 1995), p. 226.

France.) These politics affected Denmark–Norway considerably, culminating in the first British attack on Copenhagen in 1801. This event led to a major increase in legal scholars' interest in international law: the topic filled the last volumes of *Astræa* (1800, 1802, and 1805).

Schlegel's important articles on constitutional theory and Kantian philosophy were published within a span of three years. In these articles, Schlegel wrote as a theoretical legal scholar driven by political motives: he interpreted the Danish–Norwegian absolutist state as in reality a liberal state, despite its obvious formal absolutist constitution. His aim seems to have been to accept a certain political conformity so as to create a middle ground between absolutism's radical critics and conservative defenders. He invented—so to speak—an ideal form of liberal absolutism. Schlegel was a convinced and loyal Kantian lawyer, at least up to the point where the Kantian model began to contradict the realities of the Danish–Norwegian absolute state too much.

Schlegel's Kantianism gave rise to an active legal journal that carved out a new political-intellectual space. The basic philosophical idea was that any society existed as a teleological social process towards a civil government and a civil society. The element of *process* was important: it pointed to the new temporal understanding of the formal constitution of the state defined through a constitutional past, present, and future, all conceived in one concept (what Kant called: "die Erreichung einer allgemein das Recht verwaltenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft"). Thus the constitutional idea became linked to this specific temporality of law that dictated a constant constitutionalisation of state and society. Kant had given the liberal lawyers a future as the society by a certain necessity tended toward a freer state of affairs.

The total effect of the legal journal *Astræa* was to exploit this intellectual framework of Kantian constitutionalism, proceeding from two steps: first, interpreting the legal system of absolutism in light of the Kantian model, and secondly, tacitly showing the potential for political change in society within political absolutism. Thus a double-sided public sphere appeared in the writings of Schlegel. One was ruled by the legislation of the absolute ruler, and the other was a normative, Kantian public sphere, which prescribed an arena for rational, legal debate, free from state power. The issue at hand was how to reconcile these seemingly disparate ways of thinking.

The Kantian Constitutionalism in *Astræa*, 1797–1799

Schlegel's Kantian interpretation of the political order—both Danish absolutism and a utopian constitutional society—consisted of elements that collectively

formed a distinct view of law and society.[8] Every element represented in itself a topic for heated legal and political debates, and Schlegel had to formulate these elements as part of his overall theory of law, state and society. His consistency in combining the Kantian philosophical model with legal perspectives on reforming the state is truly intriguing.

(1) The first element of this Kantian interpretation is the idea of a teleological, norm-generating ability of Reason [with a capital R, in Kantian language], so often described in the Natural Law literature. In the Kantian understanding of law this may be found in the permanent teleological demand that human rights should be realized in actual law in society (what is often called positive law).

According to the Kantian model Reason prescribed the aim of the state's legislation. Thus this legal political aim was formed by Reason's normative material. As such natural law theory was a norm-transmitting discipline that existed prior to the empirical legislator. From the standpoint of legal science, then, it was all about providing the means for achieving these aims of Reason, for instance by constitutionalizing human rights. In this light a Kantian legal journal attempted to uncover the possibilities of this enterprise within the constraints of actual political structures.

(2) The second element of Schlegel's view on law and society was the idea of *constitution*. This theme often occurs in *Astræa*. There constitution has a double meaning: it is both a political reality achieved in the state and, more specifically, an explicit textualisation of the act of constituting state power. Touching upon this topic at all was no simple matter for Schlegel, who lived under an absolutist political regime that was hostile to the notion of a written constitution limiting royal power. Schlegel's theoretical discussions were therefore held on a rather abstract level. The Kantian view that Reason demanded a constitution for the state would, if understood as referring to an actual textual constitution, then seem to be a non-issue in Denmark–Norway. But what did Kant's view that states should have constitutions really mean? A plausible interpretation was that it meant that a state should give itself a constitution based upon the principles of freedom as defined by Reason. Thus a state's constitutional legislator

8 The following analyses are based upon my reading of these major articles by Schlegel, all published in *Astræa* 1797–1799: J.F.W. Schlegel, 'Betragtninger over den kritiske Philosophies Studiums nærværende Tilstand i Almindelighed, og Naturrettens i Særdeleshed [etc.]' (1797), pp. 51–120 (on Kantian legal philosophy), continued at pp. 121–173 (mainly on Fichte's concept of natural law); Schlegel, 'Erindringer imod Hr. Birckners Skrift' (1797), pp. 345–488 (on freedom of expression); Schlegel, 'Beviis for Uretmæssigheden af al Opstand mod den høieste Magt i Staten [etc.]' (1799), pp. 88–123 (on people's right to revolution); Schlegel, 'Ere Domstolene berettigede til at tilfinde Straffe for ulovbestemte Forbrydelser?' (1799), pp. 366–377 (on the politics of legal interpretation).

was obliged to "repeat the norms of natural law in positive legislative acts", as Schlegel told his readers in *Astræa*. This constitutional reiteration was the very act of textualising the insights of Reason, as that reiteration would be the true constitution of society.

But did Kant's reason demand that modern constitutions had to have the specific *textual* qualities of the revolutionary constitutions since 1776 and 1789—namely, that there should be one written legal constitutional document? Not quite. Schlegel tackled this issue by combining the existing Danish–Norwegian absolutism—which for obvious political reasons could not accept a modern constitution like the French one of 1791—with the *discourse* of political constitutionalism. This combination enabled Schlegel to distinguish between constitutions in a broader, unwritten sense that was his choice versus a more literal sense, in which constitution denoted a specific written text. In the broader sense, Schlegel thought of constitution as an interpretation of the original social contract, which is an idea of Reason; in a stricter sense, constitution meant the positive texts of a particular positive constitution. By relativizing the connection between constitution and text, Schlegel had been able to reinterpret the Kantian demand for constitution in a way that was compatible with the Danish–Norwegian political order in its ideal form. So, Schlegel was able to state the following credo:

> According to the Judgment of Reason the actual form of constitution is not the main point; what is important is that the government is led in a democratic spirit, so that the general will becomes the basis for the running of the state.[9]

With these words Schlegel had combined acceptable politics and modern philosophy.

(3) The third element of Schlegel's view was the idea of the formal expansion of positive law in society. In a couple of articles Schlegel spoke of the necessity of civil legislation and civil codification. The issue involved the tension between natural law and positive law. Even though natural law was sufficient for shaping an individual's views on right and wrong, it was clearly insufficient for establishing that state of positive laws that Kantian Reason demanded. Thus the state should produce positive law, preferably in the shape of a civil code and in accordance with natural law. Only this form of legislation could achieve predictability and formal equality in the realm of law and thus bind the court's tendencies to deviate from legislation through interpretation. The Kantian principle was to bind positive law to natural law, in terms of both the law's content and its

9 Schlegel, 'Trykkefrihet', *Astræa* (1797), p. 360.

systematic form. Schlegel maintained this idea by demanding that the legislator is to "repeat the Natural Law as positive law": it was all about transforming the content of Natural law into positive law.

But as a lawyer Schlegel had to ask a more difficult question: How detailed could Natural Law be in determining positive law (i.e. codifications)? The answer was ambiguous because any legislator would have to face this crucial dilemma. On the one hand the idea of the civil code represented the utopia of textualising all law in society and thereby in detail prescribing its normative structure. That meant also dissolving the court's freedom to interpret the law. On the other hand this utopia was unattainable, and striving for it could lead to a dysfunctional legal system. Acknowledging this dilemma, Schlegel maintained that any formal textual expansion of law in society in the form of civil codification would have to be balanced. To think that law in society could be arranged "in such a way that an Automat could be the Judge…belongs to the philosophical dreams that can never be achieved quite simply because Nature forbids it," Schlegel wrote. The Kantian view of promoting the juridification of society was that this juridification should be carried out only so far as it increased the sum of freedom in society. But not any further. Thus the political position of Schlegel and *Astræa* was to give impulse to the legislator's work for a balanced codification. The political tension between the expectations of freedom and the necessity of positive law in society could, according to Schlegel, only be resolved through a general codification. This was an important political statement.

The issue of civil codification as a contribution to public debate about legislation in society continued to be an important topic around 1800. Therefore the Swedish king's regulation of 1804—that there should be no mention of the Napoleonic Civil Code—was such a problematic political act. But the issue of codification was not only a theoretical one, as Schlegel demonstrated. A more practical approach to codification was also advanced in the general journal *Ny Minerva* in 1806 by the judge Jørgen Mandix, who was not burdened with the Kantian model.[10] Instead, he criticized the lack of new comprehensive legislation in Denmark–Norway at the time and pointed out the many codifications that were drafted and enacted in Europe. Even more surprisingly, he also attacked the law of Denmark–Norway for lacking the basic qualities of a well-functioning law, and demanded that a new codification to be enacted. This codification should not, however, be carried out in the closed rooms of the bureaucracy. Rather, Mandix wrote to his readers, the drafts of that code should

10 Jørgen Mandix, 'Undersøgelse om Nødvedigheden af en Forandring og Forbedring i den danske og norske Lovgivning', *Ny Minerva* (Copenhagen, 1806), pp. 121–140.

be published and subjected to general debate so that the code could eventually attain the desired qualities.

Whereas Schlegel had constructed his Kantian public sphere in a theoretical way, Mandix saw the necessity for discussing practical ways of making future civil codification. However, Mandix's practical view also had a certain Kantian quality: there was no better way of accomplishing this practice than by launching an important journal on the subject, and hoping for the state bureaucracy to thereby understand the urgency of the matter. Mandix's article was just one of countless texts in journals and reports and other forms of communications on law around Europe showing the intrinsic relationship between the business of legislators, the debates on legal reforms, and the formation of a public legal sphere, whether in absolutist or constitutional regimes.

(4) The fourth element of Schlegel's Kantian interpretation of law and society was the idea of independent courts. In principle there could not be any constitutionally independent courts in an absolutist regime like Denmark–Norway. Thus any tendencies towards independence would require the king's informal self-restraint regarding the courts' tasks. In Danish–Norwegian historiography it has become a standard view that the Danish–Norwegian state imposed such limitations upon its own power at the end of the eighteenth century. But the state was not constitutionally bound to limit its powers, and there could be no doubt that tensions existed between the Kantian demand for independent courts and the reality of the state practice. In *Astræa* this topic was debated in connection with the important issue of limiting freedom of expression. In the years leading up to 1799, when more restrictive rules on public debates were enacted, the limits of freedom of expression became a significant topic of debate in the Danish–Norwegian public sphere.

In one of these debates Schlegel and the theologian Michael Birckner disagreed about how society should resolve issues involving limiting freedom of the press. Birckner wanted the ultimate arbiter of conflicts to be the judgment of the public sphere, whereas Schlegel opted for the ordinary courts of law. Schlegel felt that the public sphere could not attain that high level of rationality that he ascribed to the courts. The public sphere did not have the same responsibility as the courts to take into account both sides of a case because unlike a court of law, the public sphere was not obliged to follow the procedural rules of contradiction. The arguments in favour of strong and independent courts had interesting political implications. On the one side such arguments represented a critical attitude towards absolutist royal power. On the other side, as Schlegel's arguments against Birckner show, they represented a critical attitude towards the idea of popular rule of a different kind, for example, rule by popular consensus. In this sense Schlegel's view converges with the idea that there should be an autonomous realm of legal expertise in society, a juristocracy. This idea

had as an obvious political background the fear of popular rule during the French Revolution, a theme that often crops up in the pages of *Astræa*. All in all, then, there is a structural connection between the idea of society's juridification, the contemporary formation of a juristocracy within a new legal public sphere, and the Kantian idea of Natural Law that by definition should define the content of positive law.

(5) The last element that constitutes this Kantian constitutionalism in *Astræa* is the prohibition of revolution. In an interesting article Schlegel repeated the Kantian view that citizens did not have any right to revolt against the sovereign because such a right would nullify formal sovereignty. This position was a consequence of the juridification of the state. Kant had offered a rational argument for his stance. As it was impossible to use historical experience as the basis for deciding whether or not a revolt was just, he inferred that no circumstances could provide that basis: this question could only be decided by what Kant called the Court of Reason. This was an extreme theoretical position. However, Kant added that the prohibition against revolution was predicated upon the sovereign's lawful actions. If the sovereign failed to act lawfully, he was no longer a legitimate sovereign, and any action against him would not be considered a revolt against a lawful sovereign. To apply this complex Kantian model to the real world was, of course, rather difficult, but the demand that every party act lawfully certainly posited an inherent right to assume a critical position vis-à-vis royal power.

So Schlegel, although a loyal civil servant of the Danish King, was led by his Kantianism to define his legal journal as a kind of cautious political action that contributed to the development of a legal public sphere. He used Kant to interpret the living constitution of Danish–Norwegian absolutism. Thus, *Astræa* between 1797 and 1799 constituted a particular historical moment in the sense that its articles in their totality represented a perceived liberal constitution as the true (or essential) constitution of the Danish–Norwegian absolute state. As this was certainly a problematic political and social interpretation, the aim was then rather to *uncover* the possibilities of constitutional reform within the state, reform that could ultimately transform formal absolutism into real constitutionalism. Schlegel's articles showed that he was an elite lawyer representing a conscious juristocracy and strongly influenced by the Kantian model of law, with its complex notion of what political adaptability in an absolutist regime could mean.

Conclusion

The Swedish ban on debates on legal reforms during the reign of Gustav IV was rescinded immediately with the new Swedish constitution of 1809 and with the famous new Swedish Press Law of 1810. The new legal regime led to a major

increase in periodicals of all kinds, including what were defined as the legal-political ones.[11] At the same time that Napoleon was introducing his most repressive press regulation in 1810, in effect curtailing debate on his own five codes, the Swedish legislation established a liberal new legal basis for an informed debate on subjects that were now forbidden in France.

In the debate preceding the new Swedish Press law, the principle of publicity was central. As one of the drafts stated, "the legislator may not deprive the public reason of the right to engage in and suggest such improvements" of laws and legislation, especially because an informed public was itself the guardian of the new constitution. International impulses and domestic structures and policies shaped the debate in Sweden, as they had in Denmark. The intrinsic relationships between constitutions, legislation, public debates, legal journals, and the role of lawyers were the decisive elements in the formation of the public spheres at the time.

However, it was no simple task to be a politically and philosophically conscious editor of a reform-minded legal journal operating within the constraints of an absolutist regime preparing for war. The result was a sequence of ambiguities. Schlegel was structurally part of that regime, and his texts amounted to a liberal but conformist interpretation of that regime. In that sense his journal was one acceptable ideological mirror of power. However, the Kantian interpretation of the state had a life of its own, and thus Schlegel's texts also became a utopian interpretation that in effect would have to call for a transformation of the absolutist regime. *Astræa* was therefore a journal filled with complex political texts. They were written speech acts that interpreted and persuaded at the same time.

This story also reveals that the intricate relationships between absolutism and the press are not easy to predict, as shown through the striking differences between Denmark and Sweden. Before 1809 the Swedish states seemed to be even more illiberal than Denmark, which seems to have wavered between liberal and illiberal policies, sometimes without apparent reason. After 1809 the differences between the two countries seem to have been more in line with their formal constitutions. The new liberal constitution of Sweden allowed a free legal debate, whereas the Danish public sphere had been even more restricted since 1799. The importance of a formal constitutional change thus became very apparent, if only for the formation of a more transparent legal public sphere.

11 See, for example, Elmar Nyman, *Indragningsmakt och tryckfrihet*, pp. 149 sq; for the quotation in the next paragraph, see p. 179.

PART 3

Theatrical Transfers

CHAPTER 12

Theatre, Patriotism, and Politics in Denmark–Norway, 1772–1814

Anette Storli Andersen

The period 1770–1830 in Denmark–Norway witnessed an explosive interest in the theatre.[1] As was also the case in German-speaking areas at the time, the flourishing theatre was closely associated with a strong patriotic movement. Already in 1759 the Danish writer and historian Tyge Rothe (1731–1795) stressed the link between the theatre and the education of patriotic citizens when he called for a theatre that would inspire its audiences by staging the great deeds of their forefathers.[2] His sentiments were fully in line with similar statements emerging from the theatre of the Enlightenment in France and Germany.

Patriotic theatre in Denmark–Norway comprised two separate but closely intertwined theatre systems: the privileged Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, and the many and extremely popular civic dramatic societies. An unusually high interest in the theatre as a patriotic and educational institution seems to have sprung up around 1772, after the reign of Struensee, and it grew especially intense in the period from 1780 to 1814, the year the treaty of Kiel separated Denmark and Norway as a result of the Napoleonic wars.

The first civic dramatic society in Denmark-Norway, Det Skiønnes Muntre Dyrkere (The Cheerful Worshippers of Beauty), was founded in Copenhagen in 1772, and from 1780 to the end of the century, civic dramatic societies cropped up in cities throughout the twin monarchy. The Royal Theatre and the dramatic societies shared common pedagogical aims and aesthetic principles. What is more, both enjoyed the patronage of key figures of state. In fact, both institutions could attest to the powerful link between politics and aesthetics at the time, a connection that a third institution eagerly followed and documented: the periodical press. Journals of the time wrote extensively on theatre events. Since pieces appearing in the journals often emphasized the patriotic and aesthetic qualities of the performances they described, the journals became an

1 Kaj Nielsen, *Den store teatergalskab* (Copenhagen, Borgens forlag, 1953); Anette Storli Andersen, *Deus ex machina. Henrik Ibsen og teatret i norsk offentlighet 1780–1864* (Ph.D. diss., University of Oslo, 2010).

2 Tyge Rothe, *Tanker om Kiærlighed til Fædrenelandet* (Copenhagen, Nicolaus Møller, 1759), pp. 187, 306–308.

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important aspect of the strong ties between politics, patriotism, and aesthetics in the Enlightenment theatre of Denmark–Norway.

Both the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen and the civic dramatic societies in Denmark and Norway saw their chief purpose as educating the citizenry.[3] Enlightenment society viewed the stage as a mirror that showed fools their own folly and castigated hypocrisy by depicting virtuous, true, and natural people on stage.[4] Showing positive and negative examples on stage was a method for effecting behavioral change: the theatre saw itself as a school where citizens received instruction in strengthening their morals and defeating immorality.[5]

The aim here is to take a closer look at how this relation between theatre and society worked. How was theatre transformed into an appropriate institution according to the educational aims of the Danish–Norwegian Enlightenment? How did the ideas about creating a theatre that could function as a patriotic mirror and 'school' for citizens translate into actual theatrical practices? Cases

3 Svein Gladsø, *Teater mellom jus og politikk. Studier i norsk teater fra 1700-tallet til 1940* (Oslo, Unipub, 2004), p. 7; P. Hansen, *Den danske Skueplads* (3. vols., Copenhagen, Bojesens Kunstforlag, 1889), I, pp. 176–177; Jens Engberg, *Til hver mands nytte. Det Kongelige Teaters historie 1722–1995* (2 vols., Frydenlund, København, 1995), I. p. 103.

4 The prologue from the opening night of the theatre in Hamburg in 1769 advocated, according to T. James Reed, the theatre as a "complete teacher of morality: a supplement to the laws, a mirror to show fools their folly, a means to chastise hypocrisy and ambition, and a voice to tell the tyrants they are tyrants." T. James Reed, 'Theatre, Enlightenment and Nation: a German Problem', in S.S.B. Tylor (ed.) *The Theatre of French and German Enlightenment. Five Essays* (Edinburgh & London, Scottish Academic Press, 1979), p. 46. A prologue written by Bernt Anker in 1793 proves that the principles for the acting style in the dramatic society in Christiania in Norway at the end of the century corresponded to contemporary principles from the theatre of Enlightenment in France and in German-speaking areas. In the prologue Anker called for a theatre that could function as a mirror and a school based on the virtues of truth, naturalness, and decency. H.J. Huitfeldt-Kaas, *Christiania Theaterhistorie* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1876), pp. 147–149.

5 The transformative power of the theatre is an argument both for and against theatre as a moral institution. While Schiller considered the theatre 'a school of practical wisdom' and 'a guide through social life', Rousseau feared the impact of the theatre because "[t]he continual emotion which is felt in the theatre excites us, enfeebles us and makes us less able to resist our passion". Erika Fischer-Lichte, *The Transformative Power of Performance. A New Aesthetics* (London, Routledge, 2008), pp. 171, 192. The same argument is also found in the Danish–Norwegian debate about dramatic societies. The moral impact of the theatre was not disputed—what was disputed was whether the impact was for the good or for the bad. See Christen Pram, 'Om Selskabelighed', *Minerva*, IV (1791) and Knud Lyhne Rahbek, 'Om Privattheatrenes Bestemmelse, Nytte og Skade', *Dramaturgiske samlinger* (Copenhagen, Johan Frederik Schultz, 1788), pp. 1–13.

from both the Norwegian and the Danish part of the twin kingdom will be the focus here. The first case is the performance of *Major André*, a play by the wealthy industrialist and prominent member of the dramatic society in Christiania, Bernt Anker (1746–1805), and staged by the dramatic society in Christiania in 1788.[6] The second case is *Høst-Gildet* (*The Harvest Festival*), which was performed at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen on the occasion of Crown Prince Frederik's wedding in 1790. Both performances were dedicated to Frederik and were festive occasions where both royals and prominent citizens attended.

The theatre's overtly educational orientation during the late 1700s connected it closely to socio-political reality. So did the art form itself: the theatre consists of real, physical actors performing in real, historical space and time. Its very nature strongly links the theatre with its historical context, as well as with the socio-political reality of the actors and spectators.[7] In effect, theatre functions as a seismograph for historical changes because it enacts fundamental changes that are taking place in a society.[8]

The difficulty of historical research on the theatre is that the theatrical performance is lost forever the moment it ends. The sources available for researching a performance are mainly the original text; the scripts the actors used and the lines they are most likely to have spoken; and, sometimes, reviews, as well as descriptions or anecdotes from members of the audience. Spoken words represent only one of the many layers in a theatre performance. Still, the textual basis for a performance can be more or less close to the theatrical event. In the case of the plays and performances discussed here, the relationship between performance, context, and text is particularly close because they are all occasional plays. *Major André* has never been published, so the textual basis for this argument is the handwritten manuscript intended for the actors' use during the performance, with stage directions and directions for the actors included. *The Harvest Festival* was also written for the specific occasion of its first production. The printed text used to analyse that work is not the script from the performance, but rather a printed version from a 1790 performance upon which the published text was based.

6 Ludvig Daae, *Det gamle Christiania* (Christiania, Cappelen, 1924), p. 222.

7 Fischer-Lichte, *The Transformative,* p. 51.

8 On the relation between the theatre and societal changes, see Jon Nygaard's study on theatre and political change in Poland and Lithuania, 'Hva skjer i Øst-Europa? Et teatervitenskapelig forsøk på svar', *Nordisk Øst-forum,* 1 (1990). See also Susan Maslan, 'Theater and Democracy in Revolutionary France', *Representations*, 54 (1995), pp. 27–51; S.E. Wilmer, *Theatre, Society, and the Nation. Staging American Identities* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002).

This chapter focuses on these two plays in light of their historical context, the patriotic conventions and patriotic theatre aesthetics of the time, and the occasions of the performances themselves. As the analysis will show, the theatre worked as an arena for transfers between enlightened citizens and the enlightened absolute monarchy in the late 1700s. This function grew even stronger during the Napoleonic Wars and culminated in the separation of Denmark–Norway in 1814. Among the founding fathers of the Norwegian constitution in 1814, a significant number were members of dramatic societies. The National Assembly in 1814 became the patriotic exam for these Norwegian officials, who were well-versed in the principles and aesthetics of the theatre of the Enlightenment.

Major André

In *Major André* Bernt Anker used the capture of the English spy John André, a well-known event from the recent American War of Independence (1775–1783), to create a drama where the characters could display the whole repertory of virtues belonging to the Danish–Norwegian theatre of Enlightenment. Although the plot and setting are foreign, the author adapted the deeds and vices on display in the play to Danish–Norwegian patriotic discourse.

Whereas the play's action takes place in a distant location, its staging had an immediate political background. It was performed in Christiania on 15 November 1788, upon Crown Prince Frederik's return from an invasion of part of Sweden with his Norwegian troops.[9] The highlight of these military exploits had been the rather modest Battle at Kvistum Bridge of 29 September, which from the Danish–Norwegian point of view had been an important victory. Having achieved a truce, the prince and the troops returned to Norway in triumph.

The crown prince's homecoming was closely reported in the Copenhagen journals, also in the prominent *Minerva*.[10] As this journal reported, when Frederik arrived at the Moss Ironworks in Norway after the battle, the ironworks' owner, Bernt Anker, welcomed him with a splendid celebration of "torches, fireworks, illumination, song and joy".[11] The report was written in a highly patriotic mode and noted that the celebration in Moss focused on the bravery of the Norwegian troops. The bridge in this rather small town in southeast Norway was decorated

9 In 1808 the former crown prince became King Frederik VI of Denmark–Norway (1765–1838).

10 *Minerva* ran from 1785 until 1808, edited by the Danish literature professor, writer, and theatre critic Knud Lyne Rahbek (1760–1839) and the Danish–Norwegian writer and civil servant Christen Henriksen Pram (1756–1821).

11 Anonymous, 'Historien', *Minerva*, III (1788), p. 279.

with illuminated paintings, and the town greeted the Norwegian troops as 'the king's brave sons' and 'the swift men of the Dovre Mountains'.[12] These mountains, thought at the time to be the highest in Norway, symbolized solidity and firmness, even eternity.

This depiction of the celebrations at the Moss Ironworks closely followed the crown prince's own ideal conception of the relationship between the Norwegian people and their royals. Earlier that year, in June 1788, Frederik had visited Norway on the occasion of a major military exercise and—in accordance with the normal practices of absolutist monarchs—made a slogan for the journey. The slogan celebrated the Norwegian peasant farmers' faithfulness, courage, and strength, which were "as firm as the highest mountains of Dovre".[13] This same theme of the crown prince's strong relationship with his Norwegian subjects was also repeated in the play.

Major André's moral credo is embodied in the figure of its eponymous hero, the brave, enlightened, and virtuous English Major. Bernt Anker himself performed the role. But although Major André serves as a moral example, he nevertheless makes a misstep: his eternal love for his king leads him to accept the monarch's order to spy on American troops and bribe American soldiers to join the English side. The main conflict in the play thus centres on contradictory demands of patriotism versus devotion to duty and humanity. Was it right to obey a royal order even though the order was at odds with the moral compass of a natural and sensitive heart? André's greatest virtue is his loyalty towards the English king, but his corresponding vice is that his loyalty to the king causes him to ignore the dictates of his own heart and conscience. André's speech to his fellow citizens at the end of the play underlines this point: he warns them never to allow the dazzling shadows of false honour and duty to seduce them; he encourages them instead to follow the rules of true honour, which are to be found in the heart of the virtuous.[14]

In accordance with the ideals of European Enlightenment theatre, both the play and the epilogue place the beauty of virtue and the ridiculousness of vice on display. The heroes in *Major André* seek the truth and are natural in both

12 Anonymous, 'Historien', *Minerva*, III (1788), p. 279.

13 'Indskrivten paa Kronprinsens Reise-Medaille er følgende: Urokkelig, som Dovres høie Fielde Staaer Norske Sønners Troeskab, Mod og Vælde'. Fredrik VI, *Hans Kongelige Højheds Kronprinds Friedrichs Reise i Norge 1788* (Copenhagen, C.E. Buchs Forlag, 1788), p. 13. At this point in time, the Dovre Mountains still had the position as the highest mountains in Norway and thus had an important symbolic value.

14 Bernt Anker, *Major André* (Af Bernt Ankers efterladte papirer, Håndskriftsamlingen, The Royal Library, Copenhagen. 363 a, I. 1–3 4^{O}), act 3, scene 12.

appearance and manner; they live simply and without greed. The non-virtuous are depicted as insensitive, corrupt, unfaithful, and ridiculous. They lack the honour and integrity of the virtuous characters.

One striking characteristic of the play's ethical norms is that virtue and patriotism are independent of social rank. This feature is rather at odds with central elements of the absolutist regime's insistence upon a hierarchical society, in which rank determined proximity to power. In the play, poor and patriotic American soldiers are the true heroes. Their virtues thus echo contemporary patriotic discourse in Denmark–Norway, which has as its focal point the Norwegian patriotic national character. The American soldiers embody the same ideals as Norwegian soldiers in contemporary depictions: impossible to bribe, they are sensitive and willing to die for the fatherland that holy nature has bestowed upon them. An example of the Norwegian vision of virtuous soldiers from this time is Tyge Rothe's pamphlet written for Frederik on the occasion of the monarch's journey to Norway. The author argued here that Norway's nature had equipped the Norwegians with a particularly strong love for their fatherland, and with an equally strong will to protect it and to die for it.[15]

In *Fædrelandskærlighed og Borgerdyd* (*Patriotism and Civic Virtues*), the Danish historian Tine Damsholt investigated the relation between Danish–Norwegian patriotic rituals, patriotic discourse, and the debate on military reforms in the late 1700s. She found that the conception of free Norwegian peasants willing to defend their country had a strong impact on the military reforms of the late 1700s, which to a large extent replaced foreign troops with native enlisted soldiers. A central argument in the discussions prior to this reform was that Norwegian peasants' desire to defend their country was not a matter of duty, but rather their natural disposition as independent freeholders. In *Major André*, virtuous, patriotic American soldiers are depicted in quite a similar way, whereas unpatriotic, non-virtuous American soldiers betray their fatherland for the promise of gold and white bread.[16] Contemporary Danish–Norwegian arguments against enlisting foreign soldiers appealed to the example of the play's American turncoats: foreign enlisted soldiers, also devoid of virtue and patriotism, might engage in similar acts of betrayal.[17]

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15 Tyge Rothe, *Om nogle Dannemarks og Norges Fordringer til hinanden i Anledning af Kronprindsens Reise til Norge* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1788), pp. 61–62.

16 Anker, *Major André*, act 1, scene 4 and 5.

17 The argument against foreign enlisted soldiers was that they were the scum of other nations and were therefore less trustworthy than the virtuous sons of Denmark–Norway. Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd. Patriotisk diskurs og militære*

The overall moral of the play is that virtue, duty, and honour—and not rank—are the marks of the patriotic citizen. The character in the play who represents the flip side of this is the American general Benedict Arnold. Presented as a counter-point to the brave patriotic soldiers, Arnold embodies corruption and betrayal in the play. Unlike André, who defends his own actions and faces his sentence before a military court, Arnold betrays his country and flees by boat disguised as an old woman.[18] Although he is a man of rank, General Arnold serves as the play's embodiment of vice.

What heightens the tension in this play is that both hero and villain err, and the play's evaluation of their mistakes serves as a clear expression of the moral precepts that the author and actors wanted to communicate to the prince on the occasion of the performance in Christiania. Major André's flaw leads him to obey the English king and thus act in contradiction to his own heart and conscience. Despite the esteem he enjoys as an enlightened and virtuous man, his act of espionage violates the law and necessitates his punishment. In the play General Washington presents the charges against André. The actor performing the role of Washington was someone who in real life had almost as much authority in Norway as Washington had in America: Bernt Anker's brother, Peder Anker (later a member of the National Assembly and the first prime minister of Norway). André's crime was, according to Washington, a moral crime. He was charged with using flattery and bribery to induce American soldiers to perform the greatest misdeed of all—betraying their fatherland and joining the English side. According to General Washington, André's espionage was a transgression of a universal, holy, and natural constitution—the one written in the human heart. The only fitting punishment was death.[19]

In contrast to the historical Major John André, who was hung in 1780, Anker's hero had a different fate: Major André was pardoned. A woman's influence on the male heart of the judge proved to be stronger than the law. The tears and prayers from André's virtuous and loving wife made Queen Anne of France send a message to the military court kindly requesting that they pardon André for the sake of his virtuous wife. General Washington decided to honour the queen's request: "If it is a weakness to be captivated…, I will rather be weak than unbending—all matters will be considered with justice and humanity."[20]

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reformer i Danmark i sidste del av 1700-tallet (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum, 2000), pp. 223–230.

18 Anker, *Major André*, act 2, scene 8.

19 Anker, *Major André,* act 3, scenes 6 and 7.

20 Anker, *Major André,* act 3, scene 9.

Mutual Bonds between the Royal Family and Their Fellow Citizens

The epilogue to *Major André* celebrated and exemplified the same virtues and vices as the play. However, it presented examples of virtue and vice with clear references to the contemporary patriotic discourse about 'the Norwegian disposition' and the relation between the Norwegian people and their royals.

Contemporary patriotic discourse attributed 'the Norwegian disposition' to Norwegian allodial law. This ancient law gave property rights and freedoms to the peasants, whereas in Denmark land belonged solely to the nobility. These rights and freedoms were thought to affect the character and disposition of Norwegian peasants to such a degree that the military structure had to take them into account.[21] Because they were freeholders, Norwegians were said to be naturally disposed to trust the king as a father figure; in turn, they expected the king's appreciation for their loyalty to the crown.[22]

The epilogue of *Major André* was an act of fraternization between the crown prince and the Norwegian people. It joined them in a mutual bond of shared virtues, praising them in almost identical terms.[23] The epilogue depicted Frederik as sharing the Norwegians' honesty, naturalness, and simplicity; he was as straightforward as the Norwegian people and as simple as the Norwegian mountains. Other monarchs might be artificial and false, blinding the masses with their external splendour. Frederik, by contrast, was a man who wished to be judged as virtuous, and to him the epilogue directed this injunction: "Be what you are, just, honest and frugal."[24] As in the rest of the play, the epilogue emphasized that both monarch and citizens embodied the ideals of patriotic enlightenment. In the play André's warning to his fellow citizens about the false shadow of honour espoused the same virtues found in the epilogue's encomium to the prince.

Such theatrical events were an opportunity for citizens to address the prince as their equal. With reference to patriotic enlightenment culture and values, the dramatic society celebrated straightforwardness, sensitivity, naturalness, and simplicity as patriotic virtues bestowed by nature. In this way, the society celebrated the crown prince's virtue as well as his strong bond with the Norwegian people. Moreover, they also praised something even higher than royal orders: the voice sounding from the natural and sensitive heart.

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21 Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, pp. 200–201.

22 Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, p. 224.

23 Bernt Anker, 'Afskeds-Epilogue til Hans K.H. Kronprindsen, i Christiania 1788, efterat et Selskab havde opført Tragoedien Major Andre, som Conf. Raad B. Anker havde forfattet, og et Efterstykke', *Minerva,* 1 (1791), p. 271.

24 Bernt Anker, 'Afskeds-Epilogue', p. 272.

Performing the play and epilogue thus acted as a double message from the citizens to the king. On one hand, they confirmed their deep gratitude and love towards the king and crown prince. On the other hand, the citizens emphasized that royal power depended upon their love, trust, and respect. This interpretation is supported by a prologue written by the Danish author Thomas Thaarup (1749–1821), which was performed in the Royal Theatre a few weeks later, on the occasion of the crown prince's return to Copenhagen in December 1788.[25] This celebration was also covered in *Minerva* by theatre critic Knut Lyne Rahbek. He interpreted the prologue as King Christian VII's and Frederik's reward for their attentiveness to their people.[26] The prologue expresses gratitude from their fellow citizens of both Norway and Denmark, but it singles them out as two separate groups with different characteristics. The Norwegians are as firm as the mountains in their faith in their prince (as in the epilogue) and give the king their love voluntarily.[27] The prologue also praises Crown Prince Frederik for his participation in the battle at Kvistum Bridge together with the Norwegian troops, thereby again stressing his close relationship with his subjects in the North. The prologue also celebrates the liberation of Danish peasants and the abolition of serfdom. As was true of the epilogue from Christiania, the prologue from Copenhagen underlined the interdependence of the people and the kingdom.[28]

The role of the Dane in this prologue was performed by the Danish actor Schwarz, and Rahbek described his interpretation of the part as one with quiet Danish warmth. On the other hand, the actor Michael Rosing's performance as the Norwegian was, according to Rahbek, burning with Norwegian enthusiasm. Patriotic sentiments ran high in this prologue, and also in Rahbek's report, where he relates how the entire theatre audience sang the common people's part. He asserts that any attempt at reviewing the performance as a piece of art would be certain to fail: any such review would lack the coolness and distance

25 Thomas Thaarup, 'Prolog ved Krondprinds Frederiks Hiemkomst til Danmark', *Minerva*, IV (1788), pp. 252–254. Thaarup was a member of Rahbek's dramatic literary society, Det dramatisk literaire Selskab.

26 Knud Lyne Rahbek, 'Skuepladsen', *Minerva*, III (1788), pp. 364–365.

27 Thomas Thaarup, 'Prolog ved'. Odd Arvid Storsveen has also underlined Norwegian outspokenness towards authorities as a characteristic of Norwegian patriotism in the 1790s. One example is a poem by Frederik Schmidt that praises the Norwegian's courage to freely express the thoughts in his heart. Odd Arvid Storsveen, 'Fornuftig Kierlighed til Fædrenelandet. En analyse av norsk patriotisme mellom 1784 og 1801', in Øystein Sørensen (ed.), *Norsk patriotisme før 1814*, *Kults skriftserie,* 88 (1997), p. 47.

28 Thaarup, 'prolog ved', p. 353.

of a connoisseur, simply because “It was not performance, it was truth.”[29] Thus this occasional performance clearly demonstrates how closely the aesthetic and the political spheres were connected within patriotic enlightenment theatre, as well as in the critical assessment in the journals. It is also an example of how theatre could function as a sphere for interaction between royals and the bourgeoisie, between aesthetics and politics.

As Rahbek’s review reveals, differences between the Danish and Norwegian subjects were clearly appreciated and praised as part of the patriotism that were to keep the twin monarchy together. According to Damsholt, Danish peasant soldiers and Norwegian soldiers were often depicted in oppositional terms. Danish soldiers were typically described as fat, stupid, lazy, and less capable than Norwegian peasant soldiers.[30] In the military debates, the explanation for ostensible laziness among Danish soldiers was the fact that, unlike their Norwegian brothers in the North, they did not own their own land. The military reforms of the late 1700s–where foreign enlisted soldiers were replaced with native conscripts—and the abolition of serfdom in June 1788, rested upon the conviction that patriotism and liberty were connected. Many argued that if granted limited liberty and independence, even the Danish peasants would—like their Norwegian counterparts—feel an inner obligation to defend and die for their fatherland. Abolishing serfdom in Denmark would mean that peasants were no longer bound to the soil and considered the property of the landowners. Danish soldiers’ military service would no longer be a matter between the landowner and the crown—its basis would now be the peasants’ patriotic virtue. In other words, their service would now be a matter between the peasant and his king and nation.[31] Abolishing serfdom soon became a popular subject for theatre performances.

The Harvest Festival at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, 1790

Two years after the abolition of serfdom, the poet Thomas Thaarup weighed in on this reform with his drama *Høst-Gildet* (*The Harvest Festival*), written on the occasion of Crown Prince Frederik’s wedding with Marie Sophie. The play was a great success with the audience and received a glowing review in

29 Rahbek, ‘Skuepladsen’, p. 365.

30 Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, p. 225.

31 Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, p. 240 and Kristen Skjold Petersen, *Geworbne krigskarle. Hvervde soldater i Danmark 1774–1803* (Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2002), pp. 52–53. The process of abolishing serfdom was, however, not completed for all men until the year 1800.

Minerva,[32] the Royal Theatre was crowded night after night, and it was impossible to get hold of a ticket without risking serious physical injury.[33] The songs became very popular and were published on subscription with piano notes.[34]

The high nobility, however, found the play most insulting. Even the prince regent remarked that there seemed to be a kind of riot in the play.[35] Performed as a celebration of the royal wedding, the play appeared to challenge the position of the nobility and the relation between peasants and the nobility in particular.

The main characters in *The Harvest Festival* are a free farmer from Norway, the recently liberated farmers from Denmark and Holstein, and their children. The play's main idea is freedom: the explicit moral is that a free people is a happy people.[36] As in the epilogue for *Major André*, the prince and the king receive acclaim for their virtue. The farmers celebrate the king because he is as noble as his people and not obsessed with wealth. He seeks his people's love rather than gold. With reference to the abolition of serfdom, the play depicts the king as having ennobled the peasants.[37]

Like *Major André*, the play emphasized that virtue and patriotism are not dependent on rank and social class, but rather on a citizen's sensitive heart and industrious attitude. Favoured by his superior, honoured by his inferior, and loved by his equal, the virtuous patriot could belong to any social class.[38] The peasants underline this point by arguing that they belong to a class of wealthy nobility because noble actions are what constitute true nobility. The truly wealthy are those who possess industrious hands and an honest heart.[39] All social classes appear as equals in the play—soldiers, sailors, peasants, service boys and girls, cotters, children, and widows—and all without exception are invited to both the peasant wedding and the royal wedding. In the last scene the united classes converge at the statue of liberty with their harvest equipment, weapons, and

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32 Knud Lyne Rahbek, 'Skuepladsen', *Minerva,* 1 (1791), p. 157.

33 Frederik Schmidt, *Provst Frederik Schmidts dagbøger* (3 vols., Copenhagen, G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1966), 1. 7.

34 Thomas Thaarup and J.A.P. Schulz, *Høst-Gildet. Et Syngespil i een Act* (Copenhagen, S. Sønnichsen 1790). The popularity is described in Claus Pavel's diary for 1819. Claus Pavels, *Claus Pavel's Dagbøger for Aarene 1817–1819* (Dokumentasjonsprosjektet ved Universitetet i Oslo, 1991–1997), p. 544.

35 Th. Overskou, *Den danske Skueplads, i dens Historie fra de første Spor af danske Skuespil indtil vor Tid. Tredie Deel* (Copenhagen, Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme, 1860), p. 462.

36 Thomas Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet. Et Syngespil i een Act* (Copenhagen, P.M. Hopffner, 1790), p. 9.

37 Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, p. 15.

38 Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, p. 9.

39 Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, p. 6.

flags; they lay a wreath to celebrate their liberty, their fatherland, and the king who gave them freedom. Gathered around this statue of liberty, they promise to fight and die for the flag and the nation, sealing their mutual promise by holding each other's hands while singing, "United as brothers is what we will be." They underscore their mutual bonds of kinship and brotherhood with the line "One is our king, one is our honour, and on this we shall give each other our hands."[40] This image of unity and equality might be interpreted as a reflection of the ideas of the French Revolution, but the manifestation of unity and equality between the king and his people is radically different from the revolutionary conflict between the monarch and his subjects in contemporary France.

The Analogy between Family and Society

The plot of *The Harvest Festival* revolves around a conflict that is resolved in favour of the sensitive heart. Two young sisters, Anna and Grethe, confide to each other that they have found the men they want to marry. Anna has chosen the Norwegian peasant son and soldier Halvor. Grethe wants to marry the sailor Peter, her cousin from Holstein. Halvor is a sensitive soul with a heart of gold who misses his native Norway, with its spruce forests, mountains, and waterfalls.[41] Peter is a well-educated and virtuous sailor.[42] Just before Halvor arrives from Norway to ask for Anna's hand in marriage, the brothers Hans (Anna and Grethe's father) and Henrik (Peter's father) decide that Anna will make a good spouse for Peter.

To understand the relevance of this conflict, it might be useful to consider the play in light of a standard patriotic analogy between the family and society, with a focus on women's impact on the nation's education. The conceptions of the king as father; the queen as mother; and the citizens of Denmark, Norway, and Holstein as their children (and siblings to one another) are characteristic for the period.[43] This analogy is very explicit in *The Harvest Festival*. Because the conflict in the play arises from the discrepancy between fathers' decisions and the demands of their children's hearts, the rather banal conflict actually opens up a discussion about the relations between the king and his subjects, much as *Major André* did.

40 In the original: "Eenige brødre det vilde vi være! Bundne ved Slægtskabs og Broderskabs Baand. Een er vor Konge, og een er vor Ære, Derpaa vi give hinanden vor Haand." Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, p. 46.

41 Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, pp. 17, 18, 20.

42 Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, p. 9.

43 See also Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, p. 112.

Although the children love their fathers, they cannot obey them if they want to remain true to their own hearts. According to Peter it is as impossible to defeat the power of love as it is to defeat storms and waterfalls. His father, Henrik, at first refuses to listen and turns a deaf ear to his son's entreaties.[44] As in *Major André*, it is a sensitive female's impact on a male heart that resolves the impasse. Anna and Grethe beg their father to hear their pleas, which he does, troubled that the girls had not told him earlier what was in their hearts.[45] This scene touches also Peter's father, and he in turn agrees that the children should themselves choose whom they will marry, regardless of social position. *The Harvest Festival* thus fuses a festive occasion (the royal wedding) and a historical moment (the abolition of serfdom) with a fictitious plot that symbolically both celebrated and questioned the relation between the king and his subjects. The patriotism of the theatre thus proved to contain a kernel of politics, even a critique of absolutism.

Fusing Theatrical and Political Spheres

Major André, Thaarup's prologue, and *The Harvest Festival* reveal some basic elements of theatre conventions from the Danish–Norwegian Enlightenment. Their patriotism was partly rooted in the different conditions under which Norwegian and Danish subjects lived. The degree of freedom they enjoyed found expression in their respective brands of patriotism, and this difference is clearly manifest in the two plays' aesthetics.

The Danish-Norwegian theatre tradition evolved in the intersection between civic dramatic societies and the privileged Royal Theatre, continuing with great success during the Napoleonic Wars and embraced changing historical conditions until the treaty of Kiel, separating the two kingdoms in 1814. The Napoleonic Wars also strengthened the need for the patriotism and community-building of the theatre, especially after the English attack on Copenhagen's harbour on 2 April 1801.[46] In this situation, patriotic theatre took on practical as well as symbolic significance as performances became a means of collecting money for war victims. Performances crammed with patriotic songs and national symbols drew large audiences and helped to build a sense of solidarity and common purpose.

44 Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, p. 27.

45 Thaarup, *Høst-Gildet*, pp. 14, 32.

46 The attack was displayed in an optical theatre in Christiania in January 1804. Huitfeldt-Kaas, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, p. 329.

The foremost representative for this movement was the royal actor Hans Christian Knudsen, who performed the role of the old Norwegian farmer in *The Harvest Festival* in 1790. Encouraged by the royal family, Knudsen, in cooperation with civic theatre societies, toured the twin kingdom with patriotic performances to raise funds for war victims. These performances were based on the established patriotic aesthetic traditions from the theatre and other patriotic rituals in Denmark–Norway. The performances celebrated the fallen soldiers, virtuous women (dressed in white), and a united nation gathered around a monument to liberty or a patriotic altar of one kind or another. Knudsen's performances featured requisite trappings like flags, banners, and masts.[47] While the attack on Copenhagen's harbour in 1801 had lasted for only four hours, the bombardment of August 1807 had far more grave consequences for Denmark–Norway. It now became directly involved in the Napoleonic Wars on the French side, and after Copenhagen suffered three days of bombing, it lost its fleet. The English blockade caused the Danish and Norwegian parts of the twin kingdom to separate. In the ensuing war against Sweden in 1808–1809, Norwegian soldiers managed to defend the Norwegian border. According to the Danish historians Rasmus Glenthøj and Jens Rahbek Rasmussen, this war contributed to a strengthened Norwegian patriotism.[48]

These developments—Norway and Denmark's separation and the strengthening of Norwegian patriotism—found their reflection in the theatre. Norway's dramatic societies held patriotic performances similar to Knudsen's as a way of keeping patriotic spirits high and supporting the war's victims. Like Knudsen, the societies passed these patriotic theatre aesthetics on, from the 1780s and 1790s to the 1800s. The performances celebrated courageous Norwegian peasant soldiers gathered around patriotic altars and gave the backdrops a distinctly Norwegian feel by adding spruce trees, mountains, and Norwegian marble to the set designs.[49]

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47 Thomas Lyngby *Den sentimentale patriotisme. Slaget på reden og H.C. Knudsens patriotiske handlinger* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2001), pp. xiv–xv. Henrik Nyrop-Christensen, 'Mindehøjtidligheder fra Frederik VI'tid. Omkring H.C. Knudsens tableauer', *Studier fra sprog- og oltidsforskning*, 274 (1970), pp. 5–40.

48 Rasmus Glenthøj and Jens Rahbek Rasmussen 'Fra slaget på Reden til Freden i Kiel', in Rasmus Glenthøj and Jens Rahbek Rasmussen (eds.), *Det venskabelige bombardement* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanums forlag, 2007), pp. 56–57.

49 Norwegian marble was, according to Damsholt, considered a patriotic material. Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd*, p. 164. Other examples of patriotic theatre decorations in Norway during the Napoleonic Wars are to be found in Frederik Schmidt's epilogue in Drammen (1803), Schmidt's prologue in Christiania (1810), Platou's cantata on the occasion the celebration of a Norwegian University in Christiania in 1812, as well as the

Fredshaabet (*Hoping for Peace*), written by Ludvig Stoud Platou (1778–1833) and performed by the dramatic society in Christiania in autumn 1809, even reflected a level of support for the idea of uniting Norway, Sweden, and Denmark under Frederik VI.[50] The play is set in a valley between Norwegian mountains and spruce trees. The valley features a statue honouring Norwegian warriors. Three spirits of peace decorate it with green wreaths before gathering in a friendly group to express their mutual unity and faithfulness.[51] The female national spirits of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (Dana, Nora, and Svea) gather in the valley to call for peace, joy, and liberty for all three countries.[52] Dana and Nora celebrate the 400 years of brotherhood between Denmark and Norway, a bond they declare as solid as the Dovre Mountains.[53] In an expression of their sensitivity, they faint, cry, and fall into each other's arms while calling for peace between the three countries. Peasants from different villages, soldiers, and musicians arrive at the valley of peace, and among them is a very old Norwegian peasant who encourages the people to celebrate the nation, King Frederik VI, and Prince Christian August—the commander of the Norwegian troops and successor to the Swedish throne. The prologue ends with a choir of men, women, and dancing children uniting around a patriotic altar and calling for "Peace! Peace! Peace!"[54]

To strengthen relations and contacts between Norway and Denmark, the hereditary prince Christian Frederik was appointed governor of Norway in summer 1813.[55] An important arena for Christian Frederik's political mission was the theatre. Knudsen and Christian Frederik performed a tour together in

gala performance on the occasion of Christian Frederik's declaration on Norwegian independence, performed in Bergen (1814). Liv Jensson, *Teater i Drammen inntil 1840* (Oslo, Gyldendal, 1965); Frederik Schmidt, 'Epilog, Opført i Christiania den 17de Januar 1810', *Tiden*, 43 and 44 (1810); Ludvig Stoud Platou, *Inberetning om National-Festen den 11te December 1811, i Anledning af Hans Majestæts Kong Frederik den Sjettes Befaling om et Universitet i Norge* (Christiania, Lehmann, 1812); J.A. Michelsen, *Det dramatiske Selskab i Bergen 1794–1894: et Festskrift i Anledning af Selskabets Hundreaarige Bestaaen* (Bergen, John Grieg, 1894).

50 Platou was a Danish–Norwegian writer, professor of history, and politician.

51 Ludvig Stoud Platou, *Fredshaabet eller Trilling-Søstrene i Nord* (Christiania, J. Berg, 1809), p. 3.

52 Platou, *Fredshaabet*, p. 7.

53 Platou, *Fredshaabet*, p. 8.

54 Platou, *Fredshaabet*, pp. 15–20.

55 Christian Frederik (1786–1848) became King Christian VIII of Denmark after Frederik VI's death in 1839.

order to strengthen the patriotic spirit among the Norwegians.[56] Knudsen gave performances in Christiania, and the prince and his retinue attended the dramatic society's performances that autumn, as his predecessor Prince Christian of Hessen and his retinue had done before him.[57] Christian Frederik's birthday was celebrated in the theatre in Christiania on Saturday, 18 September 1813, with a prologue greeting the prince as 'Norway's saviour'.[58]

By January 1814, after the peace treaty in Kiel (where the Danish king had to surrender Norway), Christian Frederik had come to rely on these tours and dramatic society attendance as a means of establishing strong relations with the leading citizens of Norway.[59]

The National Assembly at Eidsvoll

During these extraordinary times when Denmark and Norway were separated, the theatre's standard patriotic symbols changed to reflect the new reality. Dramatic societies more and more praised the Norwegian people rather than the Danish king, and during the process of creating a separate Norwegian constitution, theatre continued to influence politics, with theatre conventions strongly shaping the constitutional process at the National Assembly.

The prince addressed the assembly, using the conventions of the theatre (e.g. greeting the assembly gathered around the altar of the fatherland and referring to their 'holy vocation').[60] As the actors had done in the patriotic plays from the Napoleonic Wars, he then appealed to the Norwegian citizens' burning love for the fatherland and exhorted them to defend their mountains as their fathers had done before them. The audience judged the prince's

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56 Claus Pavels, *Claus Pavel's Dagbøger forAarene 1812–1813* (Dokumentasjonsprosjektet ved Universitetet i Oslo, 1991–1997), pp. 187–188, Hans Christian Knudsen, 'H.C. Knudsens Dagbøger 1813–1816 i Uddrag', in R. Neiiendam (ed.), *Skuespiller og Patriot* (*Uddrag af H.C. Knudsens Dagbøger*) (Copenhagen, Pios Boghandel, 1925).

57 Conradine Dunker, 'Det dramatiske selskab i Christiania (II)', *St. Hallvard*, 15 (1915), p. 219; Andersen, *Deus ex machina*, pp. 104–106.

58 Johan Storm Munch, *Prolog, bestemt til at fremsiges paa Hans Høihed Prinds Christian Frederiks Fødselsdag, den 18de September 1813, og det Dramatiske Selskabs første Forestilling i Theater-Halvaaret* (Christiania, Jacob Lehmann, 1813).

59 At the initial meeting with the notables of Norway, on 16 February, about half of the participants, the prince included, had a common background in the dramatic society in Christiania. The representatives at the meeting are listed in Halvdan Koht, *Norsk dagbog hundre aar efterpaa* (Kristiania, Aschehoug, 1914), pp. 81–82.

60 Fure, Eli (ed.), *Eidsvoll 1814* (Oslo, Dreyer, 2013), p. 28.

speech as they might a theatre performance, commenting on the prince's apparent sensitivity, noticing how his pale face showed traces of tears, and that his voice quivered.[61]

As we have seen, patriotic theatre aesthetics allowed even the most loyal of subjects to contradict the 'father' (i.e. the king) if the latter made a request that was at odds with the subject's heart and conscience. In a notable case, one assembly representative, Severin Løvenskiold, hesitated to take the required independence oath due to his conviction that independence was a futile project upon which Christian Frederik had led the Norwegians. In the conversation where Løvenskiold stated his position to the prince, he acted like a true patriotic hero and argued that he was bound to contradict the royal orders when they conflicted with his love for his fatherland, his conscience, and his conviction. Even though his heart felt affection for the prince, Løvenskiold's concern for his fatherland's well-being took precedence over those feelings.[62] Christian Frederik regretted Løvenskiold's position but declared that they still parted friends after this heated discussion.

Certain themes from patriotic theatre performances played a role even in the process of working out the principles of the new constitution. An example is the notion of honour as a value independent of rank and order, which showed up when the Norwegian assembly—like the French assembly at the time of the Revolution in August 1789—debated whether to abolish the nobility. In this debate the deputy Hans Jacob Grøgaard echoed the celebrations of true and honourable patriots from all social classes, just as André did in his final speech in *Major André*, and just as the peasant voices did in *The Harvest Festival*.[63] Grøgaard warned the assembly about the danger of striving for the shadow of honour instead of honour itself.[64] Several representatives emphasized the importance of valuing the true honour of a simple man with an enlightened mind and noble heart more than the false shadow of honour coming from royal recognition. Other members of the assembly agreed and emphasized that the highest reward of all was esteem from honourable fellow citizens.[65] The patriotic idea of equality between men, presented in the patriotic theatre performances of the late 1700s and early 1800s, proved to have concrete political consequences.

61 Fure, *Eidsvoll 1814*, p. 31.

62 Fure, *Eidsvoll 1814*, p. 25.

63 Hans Jacob Grøgaard (1764–1836) was a vicar, writer, and politician.

64 Fure, *Eidsvoll 1814*, p. 167.

65 Fure, *Eidsvoll 1814*, p. 166.

United as Brothers is What We Will Be

Among the deputies of the assembly, we find an extremely experienced and active member of dramatic societies, both in Christiania and in the town of Drammen—Frederik Schmidt. He functioned as the assembly's own poet and wrote several occasional songs on demand for Christian Frederik. Schmidt was a productive writer of songs, prologues, and epilogues for patriotic occasions, and he had also performed for the dramatic society in Christiania.

When the constitution had been adopted and it was time to sign the protocol and close the assembly, Sverdrup encouraged Schmidt to write a song for the solemn occasion. In this song, Schmidt made use of the same patriotic convention that Christian Frederik referred to in his opening speech: the tableau of the sons of Norway gathered around an altar to the fatherland. In Schmidt's song the sons of Mother Norway stand united around the same altar, hand in hand to bless the name of their Mother Nation. Thereafter, the assembly continued singing the old theatre song from *The Harvest Festival*, 'United as brothers is what we will be.' As in the dramatic performances discussed here, the assembly members took each other's hands and sang the lyrics.[66] Afterwards the assembly gathered in the assembly hall, which was decorated in accordance with contemporary theatre traditions, with spruce branches on the walls.[67] Jens Schow Fabricius (1758–1841) held a speech where he stressed that the assembly was united towards a common goal. Their fatherland's happiness was something for which they were all prepared to fight and die.[68] Then he suggested that their common faithfulness towards this goal should be confirmed by holding each other's hands in a fraternity chain. Before dissolving the fraternity chain, the assembly cemented the constitution with the well-known symbol of nationhood and eternity—the mountains of Dovre, which they invoked with the cry "United and faithful until Dovre crumbles!" And as proper for honest Norwegians trained in the theatre conventions of the day, tears were to be seen in many eyes.

Concluding Remarks

What I have found through this investigation of journals and historical sources from Denmark–Norway between 1788 and 1814 is a patriotic theatre tradition

66 Schmidt, *Provst Frederik Schmidts dagbøger,* p. 354.

67 Schmidt, *Provst Frederik Schmidts dagbøger,* p. 319.

68 Among the subscribers for the piano edition of *The Harvest Festival* was a certain Captain Fabricius. This might be the same Fabricius who was a representative of the National Assembly in 1814.

that emerged in the intersection between the Royal Theatre and civic dramatic societies. The close relation between the civic dramatic societies and the Royal Theatre, both regarding aesthetic agendas and the contributors involved, makes it necessary to question the established conception of dramatic societies as a mere private and amateurish parlour game for the upper class.[69]

Historical research on the theatre can contribute a broad variety of sources to the existing research on Danish–Norwegian patriotic enlightenment and shed light on what citizens experienced and celebrated in common when they came together in the theatre.

Despite the considerable interest in the theatre of the late 1700s and early 1800s, historians have rarely focused on the theatre's role in developing public spheres in Denmark–Norway, and the theatre's impact on politics is a subject that historians have all but ignored.[70] Traditionally, research on the Norwegian constitution has been most interested in what the founding fathers were reading, not what they were doing or experiencing in their leisure time. Yet enlightenment culture valued experience as an important source of knowledge and education: if only for that reason, today's historians should take the founding fathers' experiences as much into account as they do their literary influences. By enacting the ideal roles of a patriotic and virtuous enlightenment society for an audience that included the royal family as well as enlightened citizens, the theatre created a cultural consensus that united the citizenry with its royals. So when the political circumstances required cooperation between Christian Frederik and the kingdom's leading citizens, the roles and rules for the patriotic game they were about to play were already familiar.

69 Some examples of this evaluation of the dramatic societies' function are Eli Ansteinsson, '1803—et merkeår i norsk teaterhistorie', *Trondhjemske samlinger* (Trondheim, Trondhjems historiske forening, 1967), II. 281; Knut Sprauten, *Oslo bys historie,* (5 vols., Oslo, J.W. Cappelens forlag AS, 1990–1994), II. 420–422; Ivo de Figueiredo, *Henrik Ibsen. Mennesket* (Oslo, Aschehoug, 2006), p. 122; Øystein Rian, *For Norge kjempers fødeland* (Oslo, Det Norske Samlaget, 2007), p. 229.

70 Ida Bull has made an important contribution in her investigation of how clubs and societies functioned as public spheres before 1814. She does not, however, include theatre among political activities, but defines the sphere of musical and dramatic societies as a 'cultural' political sphere that existed parallel to the pre-political public sphere. See Ida Bull, 'Foreningsdannelse i norske byer. Borgerlig offentlighet, kjønn og politisk kultur', *Heimen*, 44 (2007).

Not even Juliane Engelhardt included theatrical and musical societies in her broad and thorough study of Danish clubs and societies and how they prepared the Danish constitution of 1848. Juliane Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab. De patriotiske selskaber i den danske helstat 1769–1814* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2010).

CHAPTER 13

The Politics of Passion: Absolutism, Opera, and Critique in Gustavian Sweden

Erling Sandmo

Johann Gottlieb Naumann's grand, heavily nationalistic *Gustaf Wasa* was first performed in the new royal opera house in Stockholm on 10 January 1786. The opera features the young Gustaf leading the Swedish people out of a historical dark age. After the 'Stockholm bloodbath' of 1520, the surviving members of the Swedish elite are held captive in a dungeon beneath the royal castle, where the evil Danish King, Christian II, celebrates his victory. Gustaf Wasa then rises, presenting himself in a simple aria that is also a hymn to liberty and a call for resistance and revenge. The opera ends with the fall of Christian (haunted by the ghosts of the Swedes he has murdered), the liberation of Sweden, and Gustaf's coronation, all of which mark the beginning of modern Swedish history.

We know quite a lot about this opera and its history. We have the score, we know the building, we have plans and drawings, and we know that the ghosts were played by singers in skeleton costumes. What we do not know is how the opera went over with the audience. We know something about the general interest in serious operas: the Royal Opera, where they were performed, was in permanent financial trouble. The Stockholm audience wanted lighter fare, and several private theatres were ready to cater to their tastes. Eventually the king, Gustav III, established a separate royal stage devoted to *opera-comique* so that the audiences would not abandon the royal theatres altogether. But the most obvious place to look for information on the reception is the reviews, and in the case of late eighteenth-century Swedish opera, they are not always of immediate interest—for reasons that are rather interesting in themselves. However, the Swedish press of the time gives us tantalizing glimpses of contemporary ideas and debates about opera, not just as such, but as they relate to the relationship between power and art. These glimpses even offer insights into the relationship between absolutism and opera: the history of Gustav III and his infatuation with opera may serve as a case study in the history of the press as a meeting ground for power, emotion, and aesthetics in Europe under absolutism.

Art was an important aspect of the political culture of absolutism and a necessary element in the public display of royal rule (see also Persson's chapter). This chapter deals with a special case in the history of the staging of power:

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opera in Gustavian Sweden and Gustav III's interest and investment in opera, which can be understood within a larger framework of the history of power and social bonds. The press had a vital role to play in this display of power: Enlightenment absolutism, to the degree that it was dependent on staging and aesthetics, faced increasing criticism from the print media. In Sweden, critiques were seen as a necessary form of public education, but they were also a latent source of political criticism—even in the hands of the king's closest allies. How in this political context the press managed the balancing act between its critique of power and its educational role will be the subject of this chapter.

The Theatre King

Gustav III was crowned King of Sweden in 1771. The former absolutist monarchy was weak at this time: following the disastrous political and economic collapse after the death of Charles XII, Sweden had become a constitutional monarchy, governed in practice by the National Assembly and its two parties, the hats and the caps. The king had been marginalized even more after a failed coup d'état in 1756. Gustav quickly turned the tables. Through a well-planned coup in 1772, he reinstated absolutism, albeit in an enlightened and liberal form. He limited the power of the assembly, but he abolished torture, granted a limited freedom of the press, and introduced several popular social reforms. Later in his reign, and in particular after another coup-like crackdown in 1789, he became less progressive and had lost much of his popular support by the time of his murder in the opera house in 1792, an event immortalized by Verdi's *The Masked Ball*.[1]

It was a poignant end for a king with an intense interest in the arts in general and in drama and opera in particular. He was an active playwright himself, and some claim that he would have ranked among the best of his time even if he had not been king. Immediately after his ascent to the throne, he dismissed his mother's French theatre troupe and embarked on his endeavour to create a Swedish theatre and a Swedish opera. The opera house was an important and lasting result of his efforts, but his most spectacular contribution was his own series of plays and opera libretti. Not only did he write libretti—aided by his court poet Johan Henrik Kellgren, who was better with rhymes and metres—he picked the topics and sketched the plots. He also chose composers

1 For an overview of the restoration of Swedish absolutism, see Neil Kent, *A Concise History of Sweden* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 129ff.

and took part in preparations on every level. He did everything but play: his pronounced limp prevented him from taking part in stage performances, with the exception of a few courtly tableaux in his youth.[2]

Gustav's fascination with opera has often been used to smear his reputation. Portrayed as a weakness or something inauthentic, this passion became the fodder of contemporary accounts that pointed to the king's moodiness, instability, and inherent theatricality. Thus the Swedish Army Museum clearly intended no compliment when it labelled the section devoted to Gustav's reign 'The Theatre King'. His infatuation with staging has generally been seen as quaint at best and a fatal lack of worldly realism at worst: the king may have been a good playwright, but the playwright was still a rather ridiculous king.

Still, there are good reasons to take the king's interest in the theatre seriously. It reflects the history of the relationship between the king and his subject as a history of representation and mediation. Absolutism was very much a staged form of rule, where the display of power, symbols, bodies, and aesthetics was integral to sovereignty itself. This point has been important to studies of early modern culture and the history of representation and the public sphere—from Kantorowicz and Habermas to Foucault and Greenblatt. The seemingly permanent importance of staging power could mislead us into thinking that the forms of power themselves underwent no fundamental changes. But they did in fact change. In the age of classical absolutism, the era of Louis XIV, royal power was represented physically by pictures, monuments, and public spectacles (see also Ringvej's chapter). This staging was not designed for critical reflection, but for public display, even if it left room for parody, ambiguity and subversion.[3] A century later, absolutist power was still being staged and represented, but its forms of mediation had fanned out and had come to include even the press. By the time of Gustav III, absolutist regimes and even kings themselves were active in the life of the press on every level: as publishers, contributors, censors, and audiences. Values, arguments, and the forms of legitimacy changed with the mediated relationship between the king and his subjects.

2 The standard work on Gustavian opera is Marie-Christine Skuncke and Anna Ivarsdotter, *Svenska operans födelse: Studier i gustaviansk musikdramatik* (Stockholm, Atlantis, 1998).

3 For a historical overview of the staging of power, see Marcel Hénaff, 'The Stage of Power', *SubStance*, 25.2 (1996), pp. 7–29. For a major study of music as medium both for power and parody, see Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis* XIV *and the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2008).

Looking at Power

The established media changed too. Consider, for example, the genre of the portrait of the king. Anders Roslin's famous portrait of Gustav from 1777 shows the king in all his absolutist splendour, in a pose strikingly similar to that of Louis XIV in the iconic painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud, dated 1701. Both paintings depict their subjects alone in their royal surroundings, dressed in heavy, luxurious robes, decorated with the emblems of their nations, surrounded by the symbols of their power: sword, crown, sceptre, and golden staff. Both kings seem to be standing on stage-like podiums in a classical contrapposto, with one hand resting on the hip, elbow facing outwards, looking directly at the spectator. All these elements belong to a genre with which Louis and Gustav were both familiar, and the portraits show them representing themselves and the nature of their power in a way that conforms to the rules of the genre and that immediately identifies them as sovereigns.

The differences between the two portraits have a story to tell. Louis poses in front of a massive marble column, its physicality emphasized by the receding wall and the shadowy space opening into the background. His left elbow points aggressively towards the viewer, and his robe is pulled aside to reveal his sword, which is also in line with our gaze. His right hand grips his golden staff, which rests on the cushion that also supports the crown. He is in direct contact with his power. The king's eyes are small, cold, and disinterested.

Gustav strikes a similar pose, but his slender body is open and faces his viewer. The elbow points backwards, the sword is almost hidden, and the grip is only just visible. He, too, has the symbols of his power on a table by his side, but the table is placed next to the podium. There is no physical contact between the king and the remains of his old, feudal power: he merely points towards them, his hand open, as if to show both his own peaceful attitude and the symbolic nature of his insignia, or perhaps to emphasize their connection to the past, as if he were a guide in a museum of royal history. The dark wall behind him looks curiously light—a stage prop, maybe even a decorated curtain that would rise if the King raised his left arm and pulled the silken cord dangling conspicuously above him. If he did, would he display the hidden mechanisms of power?

Probably not. And we should in any case study the portraits as representations of power rather than depictions of individuals. What kinds of power do they represent? The two forms of power discussed by Michel Foucault in his classic first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1976) may be helpful: in his discussion of the history of power in the transition between the early modern and the modern period, he distinguishes between 'the right to death' and

'the power over life'.[4] The right to death is the power of pre-classical rule, simple in its forms and limited in its scope. It is negative; it is the power to say no, to forbid, to exclude, and, in the final instance, to punish and to kill. What this power does not do is entice, stimulate, coerce, or permeate the daily lives of individuals. Whereas 'the right to death' operates only against resistance, 'the power over life' enters the mind, colonizes normality, and produces pleasure and enjoyment. In the portrait of Gustav, the sovereign points towards the emblems of the older, negative forms of power (the ones presented with such haughty pride by Louis) but assumes a modern air of distance from them. His power over life is not hidden: it radiates from his openness and his apparent admission of the theatricality of power, as if he shares the forbidden pleasure of seeing through the pretence and glimpsing its hidden machinery. His power is in his eyes, in the warm gaze that draws the spectator to the king, promising pleasure, wonder, intimacy, and shared emotion.

The Politics of Emotion

This power over life is, arguably, the form of power that undergirded Gustav III's reign and characterized his work with the arts and with opera. It was one of his most important tools for creating a society of sensitive and sensible citizens, bound together not by fear, but by emotional bonds, friendship, and affection (see also Andersen's chapter). These social bonds between ruler and subject were conceptualized in terms of the domestic sphere, as those of a modern, bourgeois family. The royal gaze was that of the good, understanding, and empathetic father, who demonstrates that the role of the king is just that, a rôle to be played, and the symbols of authoritarian rule are things of the past. Within this conception of power social bonds are authentic, close, and emotional, not distanced and formal.

This cult of domesticity and the family, and of shared emotions, is the overriding theme in Lynn Hunt's classic *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*.[5] Opera has no place in Hunt's work, but the similarities between Gustavian opera and the operas that were written in France before and during the revolution are strikingly similar. They share the concern with the family, and their musical languages are both strongly inspired by the work of Christoph

4 See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York, Vintage, 1990[1976]), pp. 133ff.

5 Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London, Routledge, 1992).

ILLUSTRATION 13.1 *Alexander Roslin,* Gustav III in coronation robe *(1777). The king is portrayed as a mornarch of sentiment.*
IMAGE: © NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

Willibald Gluck—who in turn can be seen as the musical manifestation of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophy of music.[6]

Rousseau's *Letter on French Music* (1753) was the high point of an intense debate about the effects of music on its listeners, and in particular of the values of French serious opera, the *tragédie-lyrique*, versus popular Italian comedy, *opera buffa*.[7] The basic premise for the entire debate was the strong, to us today perhaps astonishing belief in the power of music. The idea of music's ability to influence its listeners was of course old and had found its definitive form in the myth of Orpheus. Rousseau's take was to explain the power of music by positing it as a fundamental element of Man's original language. His claim that Italian comedy was the genre that was closest to human nature was picked up by Gluck, who burst onto the European stage with *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762), a short but serious opera about the power of music and emotion over death and darkness. Its music was simple, striking, and based on the melody of Italian light opera. Gluck's *Orfeo* went on to become not only the standard for the modern, sentimental music drama, but also a symbol of liberation, Enlightenment, and the strength of empathy and recognition.

The Vienna premiere of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* was an overwhelming success, and in the course of the next few years, the opera was staged throughout Europe, typically in the local language. It was performed in Swedish in 1773 at Drottningholm, at the court of Gustav III. Only in France did Gluck encounter resistance, but the breakthrough came, eventually, thanks not least to his friendship with the ageing Rousseau.[8] In the course of a few years and after several great successes, Gluck had become not only enormously popular, but also a pillar of French society. Following the success of the lighter and even more Italianate Piccinni, the journal *Correspondence Littéraire* voiced its concern in 1777:

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6 For studies of opera and the political culture of shared sensibilities, see, among other works, Downing A. Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995); Downing A. Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647–1785* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009); and David Charlton, *Opera in the Age of Rousseau: Music, Confrontation, Realism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012).

7 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Letter on French Music*, in *Essay on the Origin of Languages and Writings Related to Music. The Collected Writings of Rousseau* (Hanover-London, The University Press of New England, 1998), VII. pp. 141–174.

8 For an in-depth study of the aesthetic interrelations between Gluck and Rousseau, see Jørgen Langdalen, *The Rhetoric of a Reform: Gluck and Rousseau* (Oslo, UniPub, 2006). See also Erling Sandmo, 'Disiplin og maskerade: Opera som regjering på 1700-tallet', *Norsk antropologisk tidsskrift*, 4 (2009), pp. 222–233.

> Is music made to gratify the ear? No: but to depict the passions in all their violence, to wrench the soul, stimulate our courage, accustom our senses to the most painful impressions, form citizens, heroes, etc., etc. Let us, gentlemen, unite all our efforts to turn away the scourge that threatens both the chevalier Gluck and the state as a whole…People no longer ask, "Is he a Jansenist? Is he a Molinist? A philosopher? Religious?" They ask: "Is he a Gluckist or Piccinnist?" And everything else depends on the answer to that question.[9]

This is the kind of belief in the social and political—not to mention the psychological – effects of music that explains Gustav III's interest in opera—an interest that was reflected in the Swedish papers and journals of the time. The debates in the Swedish press echoed and developed ideas from the French debate on the effects of music:

> No other form of art has as much access to the human heart as [music]; but neither is there one so capable of abuse and conveying evil as she…. Music, if she is not as she should be, is more dangerous to Virtue than any other temptation in the world. What one should be careful to give to the other arts, one cannot deny her: she holds the heart of anyone who has one completely in her power.[10]

This quote is from an anonymous contributor to *Stockholmsposten* (*The Stockholm Post*), a bi-weekly (1778–79) and later daily (1779–1833) that brought news, debates on culture, and anecdotes to the readers of the Swedish capital. It was established and edited by the aforementioned Johan Henrik Kellgren, a court poet and close friend of the king—as well as the king's collaborator. One of the explicit aims of the new paper was to help create an enlightened Swedish discourse on the arts, as Kellgren made clear in a programmatic statement in the very first issue:

> [*Stockholmsposten*] is the name of a journal which will be published twice a week, thanks to a party in this city.… In a time when the untiring work of the wisest of monarchs has raised a realm from deep degradation,

9 *Correspondance littéraire*, May 1777. This was a monthly newsletter circulated to subscribers in manuscript form. This particular passage was probably written by the editor, Jacques-Henri Meister. Quoted from Piero Weiss (ed.), *Opera: A History in Documents* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 129.

10 *Stockholmsposten*, 14 September 1779. All translations from *Stockholmsposten* are mine.

> hurly-burly and decay, to the heights of honour, order and wealth… In a monarchic government, where the people are relieved of the concern for their own welfare, where one works and millions enjoy, nothing is more dangerous than to leave the masses to [an] apathetic state.… A loud and uninformed people, who were formerly employed with political strife, and neglected and despised the innocent and beautiful joys of genius, seem to be in particular need of encouragement and enlightenment.[11]

This is about politics: Before Gustav's coup, Sweden had been torn apart by exhausting political conflicts. This era had now come to an end, thanks to Gustav's *coup d'état*, and now, in Sweden's 'Age of Liberty', Kellgren applauds the absolutist king, who works alone to provide for the welfare of the masses and free them to pursue other interests and develop their taste for the arts. This liberty to seek pleasure and beauty is not mere leisure: it is the liberty to become a modern citizen and a member of the society of shared emotions.

Learning to Listen

To Kellgren, the education of the Swedish public faced an obvious problem: the nation's lack of artistic traditions and its unfamiliarity with the arts. The anonymous writer quoted above also suggested as much when concluding that the debates on the effects of music were perhaps leaving the Swedes behind because they knew so little about music: "Why do we know so little of the effects of this art, of which others take such pride? In my opinion, the reason is that we comprehend so little of it, and that it so often is beyond our comprehension."[12]

This situation could not be remedied by simply exposing the Swedes to music: they were also in need of guidance, of exposure to the art of critique. Attempts at introducing the genre of the review had already appeared, the most ambitious example of which was the journal *Den swänska Mercurius—The Swedish Mercury*—published and edited by C.C. Görwell from 1755 to 1761.[13] It had brought learned reviews as well as news, but it differed markedly from *Stockholmsposten* in its philosophical bent and its orientation towards German culture and literature. Kellgren and Gustav's aim was not so much to

11 *Stockholmsposten*, 29 October 1778.

12 *Stockholmsposten*, 14 September 1779.

13 Cf. the entry on Carl Christoffer Görwell in *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon* (2 vols., Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1906), I. 393.

introduce the critique as such; rather, they wanted to launch a new, French-inspired form that would bring the Swedish public up to date.

Enlightenment Europe was full of critical journals, but *Stockholmsposten* is particularly interesting because of its close ties to the king. Contrary to the many contemporary European journals whose criticism spoke with the voices of members of the public, the concerns of *Stockholmsposten* were the concerns of the king and his circle, even more so than the many Danish-Norwegian journals emanating from circles surrounding the regime (see for instance Tortarolo and Michalsens chapters). One of the concerns of the king was the need to cultivate the public's taste. If the Swedes were to learn how to appreciate the arts, they needed to develop a discourse on aesthetics, a critical tradition. As Kellgren put it,

> Critique is a gift at the Poet's feet. Without her guiding light, he will but rarely reach the Temple of Taste. Her absence seems to be particularly marked in Sweden, where the clearing of that path has hardly begun, and so many are still searching for it in darkness. Not used to beholding her, many still see her as a dangerous flame that will set fire to those lost travellers. Accordingly, few dare to kindle her, or she will flicker so weakly in their hands that the light will shed confusion rather than enlightenment.[14]

In Kellgren's metaphoric language, the King clears a path towards the Temple of Taste, but his subjects are still savage and in need of guidance. This setting had already been put to use that same year (1778), in the opera *Amphion*, premiered on the king's birthday in January.[15] The music was by Naumann, and the text was based on a play by Antoine Leonard Thomas. Amphion was an Orpheus-like figure of Greek mythology, a singer-hero with the ability to conquer by means of melody; the opera linked him explicitly to Gustav and his attempt to educate his people.

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14 *Stockholmsposten*, 29 October 1778.

15 The literature on *Amphion* is limited to Ivarsdotter and Skuncke (Op. cit., pp. 245–266), and Richard Engländer's thorough analysis of the work and its circumstances in his book *Johann Gottlieb Naumann als Opernkomponist (1741–1801). Mit neuen Beiträgen zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens und Stockholms* (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1922), pp. 242–258. Several more specific comments can be found in Ortrud Landmann and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (eds.), *Johann Gottlieb Naumann und die europäische Musikkultur des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 8. bis 10. Juni 2001 im Rahmen der Dresdner Musikfestspiele 2001* (Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 2006).

Amphion's lengthy prologue told the story of how the cold and icy North was transformed into a temple of happiness. The North Wind and Happiness praised the King, with Happiness adding that "He will be recognized in this play/No less great as King than as a friend of men. / What Amphion was once in Greece/Gustav is today in Sweden."[16] The ensuing action saw Amphion bringing tribal war to an end, his song transforming savages into enlightened subjects and lovers of a new, structured liberty. As the opera came to a close, the chief praised Amphion, civilization, and peace:

> You who long had strength and courage,
> But no humanity till now,
> Go to perform new duties!
> Love order, love law!
> Remain peaceful and united,
> Gratitude your finest virtue
> Towards he who has advanced
> Your union under his protection.[17]

The transformation that happened so quickly in *Amphion* was not only verbal and intellectual: it was also a musical transformation, where the uncouth marches of the savages gave way to the noble, modern hymn. In their concluding chorus they expressed their hope that their "civic duty [might] be united with joyful pastime."[18] This reads almost like a blueprint for Kellgren's plans for his journal. The study and enjoyment of the arts were to be a vital aspect of this 'joyful pastime', and *Stockholmsposten* would be Amphion's torch.

Sentimentality and Its Limits

The problem, then, was that the Swedish public was as unfamiliar with critique as with art itself, if not more, and Kellgren expected many of *Stockholmsposten*'s readers to be overwhelmed by its necessarily critical tone. This has to be seen in light of both a culture of honour and a culture of shared emotions. Pointing at faults and errors could still, in eighteenth-century Sweden, cause offence

16 Johann Gottlieb Naumann and Gudmund Göran Adlerbeth, *Amphion*, original libretto (Stockholm, Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1778), Prologue, p. 2.

17 *Amphion*, p. 15.

18 *Amphion*, p. 16. Cf. vocal score of *Amphion*, State library of Music, Stockholm.

and even bring charges of defamation.[19] Paradoxically, the cultivation of a new sensibility was dependent on the ability to speak frankly about artistic work and to overcome the fear of hurting the artist.

> To speak directly: Here it is regarded as an inhuman cruelty to spot errors in the writings of a hack. If anyone dares to say, This child would have been more pleasing if it were less ugly, if its limp were not so heavy, if it had brighter colours, more wit, purer diction, if its limbs were fuller and better proportioned, etc. etc. Immediately one shouts at the top of one's voice: What cruel satire! What haughty insult; how cold-hearted it is…to blame a poor cripple who was bred by his father with the best of intentions. In a word, in these regions, a critic is regarded as a man of violence, and critique as an attack on honour. This is not quite the way one thinks in Italy and France, and consequently they have authors there who are not altogether wretched.[20]

The coy nod towards the French tradition for elegant critique is gallant, but the central metaphor is distinctly unsettling. Seeing the work as the artist's child may be conventional (the comparison between a limp and imperfect rhyme or rhythm goes back to antiquity), but no reader would have missed the contemporary reference to the king's particular handicap, the limp. It is so obvious, so glaring that the reference cannot have been a coincidence. The king's body was brought on stage in the very first issue of *Stockholmsposten.* What was Kellgren doing?

He was almost certainly not criticizing or ridiculing the king. Rather, Kellgren was demonstrating—in a rather dramatic way—the necessary distinction between form and content. Gustav's frail and imperfect body was not the sacred body of the king, and it did not diminish his power or the value of his endeavours.[21] Similarly, calling attention to weaknesses and faults in specific works of art did not subtract from the importance and magnificence of Art as such. Quite the contrary: measuring the distance between ideals and realities was necessary for anyone who wanted to approach the ideal, who

19 Cf. the discussion of theoretical physics as historically shaped by the fear of falsification and disproving others as a potential affront to honour in Steven Shapin, *The Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1994).

20 *Stockholmsposten*, 29 October 1778.

21 Cf. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1998 [1957]).

wanted to follow the king as he himself cleared the path and moved painfully towards the new Sweden, the Temple of Taste.

Kellgren's passage is also a staging of the increasingly domestic and emotional character of public politics, of the king as a family member to be loved, admired, and even pitied, and certainly to be regarded with intense affection. This is a romantic, sentimental form of the Scandinavian patriotism expressed for instance in the performances of the dramatic societies (see Andersen's chapter). These politics of sentiment constituted a very distinct kind of public sphere and of absolutism as a peculiarly sentimental power over life. It mirrors the intimate and vulnerable gestures in Roslin's portrait.

In practice, however, the rules regulating this public sphere were obvious. Kellgren saw the public's relationship to art as analogous to the people's relationship to their king: not only was the relationship one of exhibition, spectacle, and staging; it was also a relationship where the audience was constituted as a community by means of its own emotional and aesthetic response to the admired object. The analogy had its limits, though: Kellgren refrained from any kind of criticism of the operas where the libretti had been written or directly initiated by Gustav. The theatre king was the one big exception to the claim that art should be discussed and criticized without regard to the artist. Consequently we know very little about the reception of his works *Gustaf Wasa*, *Friggja*, *Gustaf Adolf and Ebba Brahe*, *Proserpin*, and *Elektra*, or if they may be said to have contributed to a Swedish culture of shared sentiments. What we have is Kellgren's manifesto and a persistent Swedish infatuation with music theatre, both public and royal.

We also know about some of the challenges facing Gustav's investment in opera. One is the danger of fetishizing the artist. The dangers of this are laid out in *Political Actors*, where Paul Friedland explores the discomfort with the actor-like forms of political representation in revolutionary France.[22] Political assemblies were disturbingly similar to the theatre stage, with representatives embodying something and someone else: they were actors in a culture where the similarities between political representation and theatre performance were a cause of interest—and of some concern. In Sweden, this unease survives to this very day in connection with Gustav III, as witnessed in the snide Army Museum label, 'The Theatre King'.

Of course, *Stockholmsposten* did not voice any concerns about the king, but it did pass on to its readers a stern warning about the worship of 'French

22 Paul Friedland, *Political Actors: Representative Bodies and Theatricality in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2002).

Actrices' from an anonymous 'travelling Englishman' in 1786. Actors themselves did not necessarily deserve the admiration due to their Art:

> The decay of manners in Paris is so deep that an opera girl is held in high esteem. She despises the honourable burgher's daughter.… I have seen De l'Isle and la Cornaro in gilded wagons, manned be lackeys in front and at the back. Three months earlier I saw them come out from those burrows of base desires, where reckless youths pay to amuse themselves. The success of these two girls was very quick. Never does one rise so quickly in Turkey from the *Mosquette* to the rank of *Vizir* as did these, from the attic chambers down to the palaces of French Princes. The rage for the French *Actrices* is an epidemic sickness and spreads everywhere.[23]

The second challenge was quite prosaic: the development of the art of critique brought with it a heightened awareness of what was modern and fashionable, and a ruler who communicated through new and consistently modern art forms would always run the risk of being associated with the unfashionable. Gustavian opera was modern in its time, and its modernity was closely connected to its Gluckian aesthetics. That meant that not only Naumann, Joseph Martin Kraus, and the other more or less native Gustavian composers bestowed an aesthetic legitimacy on Gustav, but Gluck himself did too. However, Gluck's very modernity made his music an uncertain ally once it fell out of fashion. It did—and it was not so close to Gustav that it was exempt from *Stockholmsposten's* criticism.

> Monday last saw yet another performance of *Iphigenie in Aulide*. The final dance is so well known that the majority of the spectators left as it began, and those who remained were not watching. What, then, is there to see? That some figurines lift one leg, turn on the other, stretch out their arms, and smile; that is all there is.[24]

These weary remarks are from a review of one of many Gluck stagings, and they illustrate how even a war horse like *Iphigenie in Aulide* had outgrown its welcome—in this case, as early as 1779. This passage, it has to be said, concerns only one final balletic number, but the critique's premise is dramatic and telling. The performance had not only been boring, it had ceased to signify. There was nothing to see, only the empty, routine moves of the dancers. This is the

23 *Stockholmsposten*, 12 June 1786.

24 *Stockholmsposten*, 4 February 1779.

very danger that the state was facing: its dependence on the shock of the new left it vulnerable once the shock had dissolved into a yawn, again widening the gap between the king and his audience.

Musical Saviour, Royal Victim

At this point, however, the heyday of Gustavian opera was only just beginning. *Amphion* had been a pre-echo. Two years later, Stockholm saw the arrival of the young German Joseph Martin Kraus, who was to become the most important composer of his time in Northern Europe. He was the original choice when Gustav wanted a grand opening of his new national opera, and Kraus wrote him a colossal, six-hour work, *Aeneas in Carthage*. For practical reasons, though, *Aeneas* was not premiered until much later.

The precocious Kraus had already written a small book on the state of music in Europe, pointing to Gluck as the man of the future and lamenting the fact that he had left his native Germany to pursue his international career and become a celebrity in Paris.

> A man came, quite strong, to a Nation with the most unshapely taste in opera—and…gave the Nation something which they had not been able to demand for centuries. The man is Gluck, and his gift *Iphigenie en Aulide*. The Nation is not worthy of him. Oh, that we did not recognize him![25]

Kraus saw Gluck as an almost Christ-like figure, a lost saviour of German music, of the Nation. This is the same language we find in the Parisian celebrations of Gluck. Still *Iphigenie en Aulide* provoked the stifled yawn of *Stockholmsposten*'s reviewer in 1779, only two years after the publication of Kraus' eulogy. He may have been silenced by Kraus and by later works of other composers, but the quote from the review of *Iphigenie* shows how music, and therefore also the emotional bonds between the king and his people, were always at stake.

Gustav was shot in the opera on 16 March 1792. *Stockholmsposten* was silent for three days. When it returned, the paper opened, tellingly, with an anecdote about Rousseau. Its response to the shooting of the king was a reminder of how society was a community of art, shared emotion, and natural music. This may seem puzzling. To us, Rousseau is a philosopher with close historical ties to the

25 Joseph Martin Kraus, *Etwas von und über Musik fürs Jahr 1777* (Frankfurt 1777, Facsimile edition, Munich—Salzburg, Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1977), pp. 81–82.

French Revolution and not, perhaps, the obvious choice when reopening the press after an attack on the absolutist king. In Gustavian Sweden, however, Rousseau was seen as a philosopher of the unity of the arts, human nature, and society. He was, in every sense, the natural writer to turn to for consolation.

The assassin, Johann Jacob Anckarström, was tortured for days and finally executed in public, in a classic display of absolutism's right to death. Meanwhile, Gustav drew his final breath and Kraus was hard at work on the funeral music, in practice a semi-opera voicing the grief and outrage at the slaying of the king. The musical language is distinctly Gluckian. Kraus himself died later the same year, followed by Kellgren in 1795. *Stockholmsposten* lost its importance as a journal of cultural critique.

It was the end of an era. In Sweden, it was the end of the King's intense identification with the arts and with opera. Aesthetics and critique were no longer to be the functional equivalent of politics. When Kraus's magnum opus *Aeneas in Carthage* was finally premiered, much abbreviated, in 1794, it had lost its momentum. It was staged – not as a new work of aesthetic and political significance – but as a monument, a commemoration of a composer of the past, and of the time when the king's keen ear and warm eyes had been his most powerful tools of government.

CHAPTER 14

Bowing Deeply without Tipping Over: The Theatrical Panegyrics of Absolutism

Mona Ringvej

In eighteenth-century text culture, there is one genre that stands out in particular—the panegyric. Featuring unconditional praise for those of high social and administrative rank, particularly monarchs, it is a genre that in later years were deemed as hollow, false, and almost repulsive in its submissiveness.[1] Taken at face value, the eighteenth-century panegyric may seem strange and one-dimensional, particularly to modern readers, but in the eighteenth century it was actually so pervasive in the text culture that it had many functions. For one thing, it was an integral part of what Richard Sennett called the quintessentially theatrical character of the eighteenth-century public sphere.

Sennett was referring specifically to the novelist and playwright Henry Fielding, who in 1749 asserted that in London, the concept of the world as a theatre was no longer only a metaphor. It was a literal truth. In France, Jean Jacques Rousseau noted the same thing, claiming that life in Paris forced men to behave as actors in order to be sociable.[2]

The theatrical character of the eighteenth century was not merely a social phenomenon, though. Far from it. Political power also clad itself in stage effects to seduce the public. Cultural producers of all stripes excelled in theatrical effects, from architects to painters and engravers, from musicians to decorators and landscape gardeners striving to create the scenery of royal splendour.[3] The king's own performance, his display of power, also involved quite a significant amount of theatre. In fact, future sovereigns, such as the young Louis XIV, partook in the theatre productions at court as childhood training in royal deportment.[4]

This play-acting at wielding power was inseparable from the actual exercise of power. In order to uphold the legitimacy of absolutism, the sovereign had to

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1 Liv Bliksrud, *Den smilende makten. Norske selskab i København og Johan Herman Wessel* (Oslo, Aschehoug, 1999), p. 83 f.

2 Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, Knopff, 1977), p. 64.

3 Marcel Hénaff, 'The Stage of Power', *Substance*, 25.2 (1996), p. 15.

4 James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 168.

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appear in public and display the regime's grandeur while keeping the actual politics and decision-making processes behind closed doors at the court. In effect, the sovereign had to go public and transform the public sphere into a powerful theatre. The subjects also had their roles to play in the representative spectacle of absolutist power, mainly as faithful admirers of royal glory and as trusting believers in the king's paternal care for their welfare. Whenever this trust was acted out by individuals, it was mainly done using the genre of praise—the panegyric.

The audience members in this 'representative public' (to use Habermas's term) were not passive onlookers, however, not even when appearing *en masse*.[5] As Sennett's work on the theatrical character of the eighteenth-century public sphere suggests, these onlookers' reactions, when viewed in detail, provide insights into the part the audience had to play in staging monarchic power. As Arlette Farge also has shown in her study on public opinion in France during the same period, there can be a surprising amount of diversity within an audience as it reacts—seemingly *en bloc*—to royal display.[6] This also holds for the subjects' performance of panegyric praise, both during actual physical stagings in public spaces, but also—and of special interest in the following—in the newly created public sphere of the printed press, where individuals also acted out their submissiveness on the printed page.

The new public sphere of the printed media in the eighteenth century has mainly been seen as an *alternative*, if not a challenge, to a 'representative' public sphere preoccupied with royal pomp. However, here we will explore elements of absolutism's theatricality, which maintained a strong presence also in the printed press, often described as a more oppositional public sphere. We will find that representational elements still had an important role to play also in the revolutionary boom of print materials, and that panegyrics continued to stand out as a prominent genre. The panegyric turned out to be a useful genre, and took on different shapes and disguises—even including some that ran counter to the genre's submissive character—and thereby actually contributed to the new media's potential to criticize the powerful. A closer look at the diversity and critical potential of the panegyric within the context of the eighteenth century's theatrical culture will shed light on the complex role this genre had to play in absolutist Enlightenment-era states like Denmark–Norway.

5 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge MA, Polity, 1989), p. 5 ff. Cf. Tim Blanning, *The Culture of Power, the Power of Culture* (Oxford, Oxford university press, 2002), p. 7.

6 Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words. Public Opinion in Eighteenth Century France* (London, Polity Press, 1994), p. 15 ff.

The Stage in Denmark–Norway

The practice of putting royal power on theatrical display for the public was certainly alive and well in the most absolutist of the European kingdoms, Denmark–Norway, where the most commonly used word for what we now call 'the public sphere' (or *Öffentlichkeit*) was in fact *the Stage—Skuepladsen*. In this twin kingdom, stage performances in their ideal form were directed by the king himself, with his subjects serving as audience and properly amazed spectators. Sovereign power also played out in the form of frightful spectacles, such as the public enactments of rather barbaric punishments (see Roos' chapter). Executions were staged as spectacular events in the cities' largest public spaces, and served to enforce the penal code of absolutism through discipline by fear. Executions were also expressions of the king's sovereignty: as absolute ruler, he was above the law and had the power to pardon any offender.

These theatrical displays obviously had an effect on the public. Foreign observers accustomed to more liberal environments, did in fact take note of the submissiveness of the monarchy's subjects, particularly in relation to public speech about politics.[7] This reluctance to discuss politics was even codified by law when in 1701 the Danish-Norwegian monarch forbade publishers of news reports to actually discuss the news in any way. Reporting was to be carried out in the most neutral way possible.[8] However, a different set of rules applied to publications that praised the monarch and his politics, as these did not require the same degree of neutrality and self-effacement. In fact, quite the contrary: exaggeration in panegyrics was more than welcome:

> O joyful is the Gaze that we throw upon our happy Homeland, upon Denmark, upon Norway. …In enjoying our Happiness as free Citizens—the wonderful Destiny of its inhabitants—we feel elevated above any other Nation on Earth. We know our Duties, but also our Rights, and we exercise them freely and without Constraints.[9]

These words of praise were published in a local periodical in 1798, in an era where restrictions on the press had eased somewhat, inspired by and giving room for the liberal debates in the wake of the French Revolution. Significantly, even the relative freedom the press enjoyed at the time came in for

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7 Robert Molesworth, *An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692* (London, 1694).

8 Chr. Kirchhoff-Larsen, *Den danske presses historie* (3 vols., Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaards forlag, 1942–1962), I. 118.

9 *Qvartbladet*, a local journal in the district town of Trondheim, 1798. Translation by the author.

panegyric praise, in an odd twist on the use of this genre that most embodied absolutism.

Despite the all-pervasiveness of panegyrics during the period, including its presence in the print media (particularly in periodicals), the dominant descriptions of the eighteenth-century public sphere have largely neglected this genre. Habermas, his critics, and Richard Sennett in his *The Fall of Public Man* have all ignored the panegyric.[10] Indeed, on the face of it, panegyrics may come across as empty ritual, as mere ornament attached to more substantial and critically significant texts. However, because they were such an obligatory and theatrical prop to enlightenment texts, panegyrics did develop sophisticated functions alongside the more truth-seeking and seemingly rationally oriented public sphere, not least by engaging in the playful mixing of genres that also characterized eighteenth-century textual practices. This genre-mixing gave panegyric many functions, not all of which had a submissive aim.

Genre and Playful Theatricality

In reading the journals of the eighteenth century, one is struck by the playful use of genres. Notwithstanding the fact that Enlightenment texts themselves professed a search for truth as an expression of rationality, opinions and discussions took shape using a variety of genres and were seldom free of theatrical disguise. Not even discussions about scientific knowledge fully escaped such theatrical playfulness. Thus, a debate on the importance of natural science as opposed to aesthetic knowledge could be presented in the guise of a fable featuring a song bird and a spider discussing which of them was most useful.[11] Criticism of local lawyers could take the shape of poems about the destiny of two mice inheriting a cheese, and political discussions could be presented as written dialogues that had fallen down from the moon.[12]

Such hide-and-seek methods for expressing opinions undoubtedly had to do with the severity of censorship under absolutism, and clearly criticizing the royal

10 Here I confine myself to those Habermas critics who contribute to Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge MA-London, MIT, 1992). The panegyrical text culture is also omitted from more recent important works on the eighteenth-century public sphere, such as van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* and Tim Blanning, *The Culture of Power.*

11 *Den patriotiske Tilskuer*, 61 (1761).

12 See for instance *Den Snaksomme Bergenser*, 6 (1794) (criticism of lawyers) and *Den Snaksomme Bergenser*, 47 (1795) (letter from the moon).

government was out of the question within a genre designed to celebrate sovereign splendour. In fact, these restrictions were clearly and insistently expressed in the Danish and Norwegian law codes of 1683/87. It was forbidden to object to any aspect of government policy, or even to discuss politics. Further restrictions came with the 1701 censorship rescript forbidding news publishers—the so-called *nouvellists*—from interpreting or even reflecting or commenting upon the news they were publishing.[13] In France, we find the same governmental impulse to assert control over speech, for instance, through police searches to uncover political utterances in texts of all kinds (even poems written on scraps of paper).[14] Subjects were not supposed to, nor allowed to express judgements or engage in politics. The only 'safe' genre left to eighteenth-century writers seems to a large extent to have been the epideictic genre devoted to praise.

The kingdom's severe censorship laws were so successful in creating an obedient press and curbing discussions that it even made it difficult for the government to attain necessary information on certain issues, such as economics. The seventeenth-century law code considered economics a political subject and therefore one that was off-limits to public discussion. However, during the eighteenth century the economy became a topic of increasing political concern for the king, and the lack of public debate on economic issues clearly hampered efforts at finding solutions. Therefore, in 1755 the king opened the field up for discussion in the public sphere, inviting the twin-kingdom's subjects to submit texts dealing with economics.[15]

As the king's decree indicates, censorship had been very effective in choking off the flow of opinions and debates. On the other hand, it had also led to what was effectively a game of hide-and-seek between the government and individuals who sought indirect means of expressing controversial opinions. The theatricality of the age had allowed for much written experimentation—within the limits of censorship. Staged fictional debates were one means writers had of experimenting with public expressions of opinion. Such experimentation typically took place in the journals, where exchanges of views and opinions were played out as readers' letters (written by the editors themselves), or by the above-mentioned letters from the moon, fictional travel letters or novels (robinsonades), different kinds of societies discussing moral and patriotic

13 Printed as Act. 1 in T. Vogel-Jorgensen, *Berlingske Tidende gjennem 200 aar 1749–1949* (Copenhagen, Berlingske forlag, 1949).

14 Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police. Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 2010).

15 Jakob Maliks, *Vilkår for offentlighet. Sensur, økonomi og transformasjonen av det offentlige rom i Danmark-Norge 1730–1770* (PhD diss., NTNU, 2011), p. 151 ff.

questions, poems, plays, and dialogues often containing severe criticism of the very absolutist system they were forbidden to question.

A revealing example of such an experiment is a text published in 1756, the year after Frederik V opened the door to publications that contained knowledge that could be useful to the government. The piece was a dialogue exploring the very foundation upon which absolutism was built, titled *A Dialogue after Death between the two Emperors Nero and Caesar concerning the Differences between Democracies and absolutist Governments.* The genre of the dialogue itself clearly entailed weighing the pros and cons of both forms of government, thereby allowing the author to fill the text with praise of democracy and even an outspoken critique of absolutism, despite the fact that such critique in principle was forbidden by law. The very conventions of the genre of the dialogue thereby allowed the author to express controversial opinions, presented as hypothetical pro and con positions. Perhaps because of this ambivalence, the dialogue between Caesar and Cato encountered no backlash from the government in Denmark–Norway.

A look at specific examples of the panegyric from this period reveals the genre's similarly evasive possibilities and potential for subversive theatricality. Consider this dedication to the princess Sophia Magdalena in a periodical from 1761—*Fruentimmerets Ven* ('The Woman's Friend'):

> To
> Your Royal Highness,
> Princess,
> **Sophia**
> **Magdalena**.
> Heir-Crown-Princess
> To Denmark and Norway, etc.
> Most honoured Heir-Crown-Princess!
>
> Everybody, who has the Honour of being acquainted with Your Royal Highness, has received tender Proof of your personal Mildness, to which you have by your own Effort added a most special Glory. This has raised in me the sweet Hope, that You will accept the Liberty I have humbly taken, by dedicating my humble Text to your Royal Highness.[16]

As intense as this flattery appears, it has nevertheless only just begun and therefore will not be quoted in full here. It unfolds over several pages in which the princess's exemplary character receives all manner of praise. It ends only

16 *Fruentimmerets Ven*, 1 (1761). Translated by the author.

at the point where it would seem impossible to find anything more to say in praise of the princess. However, it is still too soon to stop, so according to eighteenth-century customs, the writer must simply throw himself at the feet of the royal house and capitulate by tossing away his pen.

> My Pen is too dull, and will have to give in and leave to others who are more gifted, to paint your wonderful Virtues and exquisite Attributes with the right and honourable Colours.
>
> I will have to settle for the Pleasure that I enjoy by admiring with silent Reverence Your many Perfections; and in the true Hope I have in the blissful Happiness of your Royal Highness.
>
> I am always and with the deepest Veneration,
>
> Graceful
> **Heir-Crown-Princess!**
> Your
> **Royal Highness's**
>
> Most humble servant,
> Thomas Georg Münster.

Of course, Sophia Magdalena may have been a nice person. All the same, this unbounded flattery is so greatly exaggerated that one would be hard put to read it with a straight face. As for the different eighteenth-century monarchs, their tributes were often even more exaggerated, if not untruthful. How, possibly, could the alcoholic Frederik V, who never had an interest in governmental affairs, be praised as the best and most merciful monarch ever granted eternal wisdom by the Gods?[17]

One part of the answer is that the subjects themselves were maintaining their roles in these staged displays of royal glory and in the exercise of royal power even when the monarch was absent. Upholding the collective play-acting of absolutist public theatre, engaging in panegyric praise, and recognizing the sovereign's infallibility were all part of this public performance. In the case of Frederik V, the subjects were thus more involved than the monarch himself in upholding the ideals presented in the 1665 *Lex Regia*, the foundational text for Dano-Norwegian absolutism, which described the absolutist monarch as infallible:

17 *Kiøbenhavnske Samlinger*, 1 (1747).

> The Danish and Norwegian absolutist hereditary Monarch is hereafter to be looked upon and honoured by all subjects as the brightest and most elevated Head on our Earth, and to be above all manmade Laws [...] accountable to nobody but God.

Such a representation of a human being is of course patently unbelievable in a straightforward understanding of the word 'belief'. However, if we follow Richard Sennett's definition of belief, we may see belief as ideology that 'becomes consciously involved in the behavior of the person who holds it.'[18] Thus Danish—Norwegian subjects could—despite living under monarchs who were clearly made of flesh and blood and, for the better part of the century, were either mad, drunk, or both—unhesitatingly engage in the most unconditional praise of that monarch, or anybody attached to his family, the government, or the court. Their behaviour was clearly a performance in accordance with their ideological adherence to the sovereign, who upheld absolutist law.

Genre and History

The panegyric's dominance was in no way incidental. A strong relationship links history and genre, politics and the preferred (or even allowed) modes of expression. A state in which the subjects are not allowed in principle to talk politics will abstain from using what Aristotle labelled the political genre, namely the *symboleutic* genre (*symbouleuein* = to discuss/decide matters). The three main genres of Aristotle's rhetoric were defined by the functions of their listeners. Symboleutic speech was addressed to an assembly about to decide upon a political matter, and therefore it concerned the future: What was to be done? Dicanic speech was used in the courts and addressed questions of the past, asking, What happened? In the third, the epideictic genre, panegyrics played an important part.

Epideictics concerned the here and now and focused on the praiseworthy or blameworthy actions of various persons, all in order to confirm and exemplify the norms of society.[19] Since absolutism was a form of government where politics ideally remained within the secret realm of the court, what Habermas called the *arcana* of politics, the royal subjects were obviously discouraged from talking politics.[20] The deep bows of panegyrics were the favoured means

18 Sennett, *The fall of public man,* p. 33.

19 On new rhetoric and the use of Aristotle's definitions of genre, see Carolyn Miller, 'Genre as social action', *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 2 (1984).

20 On secrecy, see also Van Horn Melton, p. 74.

of bolstering the absolutist system of government. Performed in an almost programmatic scheme that paralleled the system of ranks and the court hierarchy of the Dano-Norwegian eighteenth century, their dominance was assured in the otherwise diverse text culture of Denmark–Norway. The steady occurrence of the genre were secured by the tradition of dedications to the king or someone else at court, like the above-cited encomium to Princess Sophia Magdalena in the journal *Fruentimmerets Ven* ('The Woman's Friend'). Such praises thereby coloured the print media, signalling a seemingly faithful effort to maintain the king's grandeur.

Why Panegyrics?

One may perhaps ask why the subjects of an absolutist state would want to uphold such a system. In the Dano-Norwegian context, many scholars have assumed the answer to have been mere cohesion, thereby understanding the panegyrics as mere hypocrisy. Indeed, there are also plenty of examples upon which to build this case, including the spectacles of public executions and other staged horrors designed to instil fear and effect subjugation. The lack of free speech and some other restrictions on the kingdom's subjects add to the overall picture of oppression at the hands of the absolutist state. However, scholars of Dano-Norwegian absolutism have in recent decades also become increasingly aware of the power subjects did have in this apparently top-down, bureaucratic state.[21] Some scholars have convincingly demonstrated that the communication system of Danish absolutism to a certain extent worked both ways. One example of such two-way communication was the institution of supplication, which was a confidential line of contact between subject and king (see Malik's chapter). Another form of two-way communication originates from absolutism's need to stage its power in public: the absolutist king's act of standing before his subjects and exposing himself to their scrutiny and judgement.[22]

Exposure in itself rendered absolutist power vulnerable. Even an audience of loyal adherents instructed to gaze with awe at the royal spectacle could observe the reactions of individual onlookers, and individuals within a crowd could always communicate among themselves, commenting—perhaps silently

21 A significant contribution is Harald Gustafsson, *Political Interaction in the old Regime: Central Power and Local Society in the Eighteenth-Century Nordic States* (Lund, Stundentlitteratur, 1994).

22 See, for instance, Arlette Farge's study, where she found that the people's responses were quite heterogeneous and also critical. Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words,* p. 15 ff.

and only with subtle gazes and nods—in ways other than those the sovereign prescribed. Therefore public space was for the king not merely, not even primarily, a stage he directed entirely by means of his own sovereign power. The public sphere was a forum in where he had to convince the audience of his sovereignty. In Denmark–Norway this aspect of the sovereign's relationship with his subjects was coloured by ideas from natural law that had gained momentum there: absolutism rested upon a contract between the king and his subjects, and the sovereign was obligated to fulfil his duties towards his people.[23] Significantly, when at the end of the eighteenth century a revolutionary tide washed over the kingdom, the Danish monarchy responded by stressing the king's benevolent character and opting for more modest royal attire. Thus, in the 1790s the standard costume for Crown Prince Frederik became the uniform, in a signal that the regent was more of a public servant than a state sovereign.[24]

The need for absolutist sovereigns to stage their power in splendid performances is therefore also a sign of inherent weakness because it reveals the strong efforts required to convince subjects of their king's sovereignty. Some have argued that this weakness demonstrates that absolutism represented a transitional stage between medieval monarchies—legitimized by religious beliefs—and systems based upon constitutional principles. This transitional stage contained a movement from belief to make-believe: the medieval monarchy could uphold its power through belief alone, whereas absolutism had to rely on make-believe and the staged exercise of power. This transition played itself out in the very place where democratic power itself unfolds: among the public.[25] Democracy, often held as the opposite of absolutism, is defined by its open political processes, which place politics in the middle (as the old Athenians themselves put it—*es to meson*—into the middle).[26] When political theorist Hannah Arendt described the power to create as political power, she pointed out that no one person can possess this power because it exists only in between people: 'Power is what inter-est', she writes.[27] When the king is forced to enter this public sphere to persuade the audience of his sovereignty, his

23 See, for instance, Jeppe Nevers 'The Transformation of Danish Monarchism in the Age of Enlightenment', in Pasi Ihalainen et al. (eds.), *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution. Nordic Political Cultures, 1740–1820* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

24 Thomas Lyngby, Søren Mentz, Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, *Magt og pragt. Enevælde 1660–1848*, (*Power and splendor. Absolutism 1660–1848*) (Copenhagen, Gads Forlag, 2010), p. 179 ff.

25 Hénaff, 'The Stage of Power', p. 10 ff.

26 Hénaff, 'The Stage of Power', p. 10.

27 Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London, Penguin Books, 1963), p. 86.

power is to a certain degree questioned almost by definition, because he has gone 'into the middle', where power actually exists between people.

Absolutist defenders did in fact at times assert the democratic potential of the public sphere under absolutism, particularly towards the end of the century, when democratic ideals had gained momentum. One such defender was the legal writer Johan Frederik Schlegel (see Michalsen's chapter). We also find assumptions about the democratic character of Danish–Norwegian absolutism earlier in the century (as shown in Krefting' chapter).[28] Such democratic arguments in defence of absolutism stressed the participatory element of public debate and asserted that the public signalled to the sovereign how best to exercise his power. According to this view, when public debate functioned at its best, absolutism was even more democratic than democracy itself, even more democratic than constitutional states wherein the subjects could vote for parliamentary representation.

Absolutism was not democracy, however, and as a transitional power arrangement, it allowed for seemingly contradictory elements to exercise power side by side. This need for a state of coexistence between contradictory power structures probably gave rise to the intriguing and peculiar reactions towards the liberal reforms of Johann Friedrich Struensee in the early 1770s. One would have expected the kingdom's subjects to applaud Struensee's series of reforms, such as 'freedom of writing'. However, something entirely different occurred. The free press saw an explosion of criticism aimed at Struensee himself, the one who had granted these unprecedented freedoms.

At first glance, it would seem mysterious that Struensee's progressive ideas should have met with anything but gratitude. But as historian Michael Bregnsbo has convincingly shown, Struensee failed to understand the communication system within Danish absolutism.[29] Struensee had kept the king, Christian VII, out of sight, and instead of seeing their king appear in public and witnessing reassuring royal spectacles, the public saw only a never-ending stream of new laws issuing from Christiansborg Castle in Copenhagen. What the laws contained was beside the point: they simply could not replace the trappings of royal pomp.

Not only did Struensee take the king away from his subjects, he also removed the need for those subjects to fulfil their traditional roles. They no longer had

28 See for instance Ulrich Laursen, *Mellem enevælde og opplysning. Jens Schelderup Sneedorff oplysningsprosjekt* (MA-thesis, Roskilde University, 2013)., p. 57 f.

29 Michael Bregnsbo, 'Struensee and the Political Culture of Absolutism', in Pasi Ihalainen et al. (eds.), *Scandinavia in the Age of Revolution. Nordic Political Cultures 1740–1820* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), pp. 55–65.

an opportunity to play the part of royal adherents showing their gratitude and loyalty. Moreover, they were now bereft of a role that had carried power, as the loyalty of the subjects served as a constant reminder to the king of his duties towards them.[30] Struensee only compounded his mistakes when in 1771 he decided to dissolve the Royal Life Guards, whose prestigious role had been to protect the king. The decision caused mutiny among the Life Guards, and the antipathy towards the liberal physician acting as king became even more extreme. When after a year and a half as regent Struensee was removed by a coup d'état and sentenced to death in one of absolutism's many grotesque spectacles of fear—beheading and dismemberment at the largest public space in the capital—the subjects were thankful for this restoration of order. No words of pity were heard, although we should not take this lack of publicly expressed pity completely at face value, of course. The spectacle of fear was one of absolutism's strongest means of upholding real absolutist power, in a one-way communication leaving no room for protest. Still, after 1772 little in the way of grateful praise for Struensee's introduction of press freedom could be heard: instead, the eighteenth-century public sphere in Denmark–Norway continued to embrace the genre that most insistently assured the sovereign of their loyalty and gratitude—royal panegyrics.

The Double-sided Panegyric

The panegyric is a genre that contains many ambiguities and pitfalls. It invites nuances that can change the resulting meaning quite radically. Words of praise can be uttered playfully or too easily, with humility or a sardonic twist. Extensive expressions of heartfelt praise may run into hyperbole, a linguistic figure of speech in which exaggeration intentionally invites disbelief. Bowing deeply, you risk the possibility of bowing *too* deeply, losing your balance and tipping over. This was a feature of the genre that could of course be employed consciously and with the utmost care. Exaggerated adulation is easily transformed by irony into indirect reproach.

The panegyric is thus a genre that feeds a snake at its breast. The snake can be irony, satire, or outright opposition, and it may issue forth at the most inconvenient moments. Panegyrics at their most sincere or heartfelt may look exactly like their opposite, mockery. Eighteenth-century writers were of course aware of this double-sidedness of panegyrics. In a culture of letters in which so many restrictions and dictates from above constrained writers and publishers,

30 Michael Bregnsbo, 'Struensee and the Political Culture of Absolutism', p. 63.

authors tended to display a refined knowledge of genre and skill at exploiting the allowed forms. This awareness of genre is manifestly present in Danish print culture throughout the whole century. An allusion to panegyric double-sidedness appears already in one of the playwright Ludvig Holberg's earliest poems, *In defense of the Female Sex* (1721). Holberg's fictional author of this poem, Zille Hans Dotter, states in the preface that it was about time someone defended the female sex in a *sober* way, not in exaggerated paeans to women, so grandiose that they more resembled scornful criticism than respectful praise.

The panegyric's possible ambiguity gave it *critical* potential, then. An ironic undertone might suggest that the object of praise did not at all live up to the picture drawn. Aristotle, obviously, was aware of this danger. That is why he called the epideictic genre the most difficult one. It always involved uncertainty over whether the speaker was being sincere. Also, as Aristotle emphasized, praising someone was also a normative act of giving advice.[31] Thus we find, for example in the periodical press after the 1790s, a great amount of joyful speech describing the Dano-Norwegian twin-kingdom as a delightful place of freedom. This was a way of applying pressure on the government to live up to the hyperbolic laud it was receiving: writers were well aware that the crown prince at the time was more than eager to put an end to the widespread discussions about revolutions, constitutions, and free speech in the Danish–Norwegian press at the time.

With this in mind it is worth returning to a panegyric on the situation in Denmark–Norway, quoted earlier in this chapter—the "joyful Gaze" upon Denmark–Norway. It was published towards the end of the century in a town far away from Copenhagen, but it was read with interest, and brought to the authorities' attention, in the capital as well. At this point in time clear signals had been given that legal restrictions were about to be placed upon freedom of the press, a freedom that writers had been vigorously exercising in the 1790s. Fearing that the crackdown could occur at any minute, the writer in this town far away from Copenhagen, Trondheim, wrote in his journal,

> O joyful is the gaze that we throw upon our happy homeland, upon Denmark, upon Norway. ...In enjoying our happiness as free citizens, which is the most wonderful destiny of its inhabitants, we feel elevated above any other nation on earth. We know our duties, but also our rights and we exercise them freely and without constraints. Freedom of Thought and Writing is conceived of for what it is, something given by God.

31 Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (Blacksburg VA, Virginia Tech, 2001), 1.9.35.

The text continues, "We do not see it as a gift from the monarch. No Monarch on Earth has the power [to grant this freedom], because we possess this Right already, and have done so since long before the first Government was even created."[32] Aside from throwing its weight behind natural law ideas, this text has a clear normative aim: denying the monarch the right to infringe upon his subjects' freedom of expression. This utterance was provocative for at least two reasons. For one thing, it questioned the sovereign monarch of the *Lex Regia* by stressing the fact that the monarch was beneath God when it came to freedom of expression. Second, this encomium to an existing freedom of the press flew in the face of the monarch's opinion on the matter (in practice the regent prince Frederik, whose father, Christian VII, was still ill). This opinion was at the time to be expressed in Prince Frederik's enactments of severe restrictions on freedom of the press in 1799, which in fact did put an end to any free speech in Denmark–Norway for many years to come. As a result, the author of this tribute to freedom of speech had to give up his post as editor and lay aside his journal. His panegyric had been a fierce defence of a political freedom that was about to be taken away.

Communicating with power through the panegyric genre was thus a practice fully understood. According to most historians, though, the kingdom's peasants, as opposed to their more educated superiors, they were less likely to have exploited opportunities of communicating with power. Being less educated, were supposedly the true believers in absolutist ideology and therefore more likely to have been duped by the royal displays of grandeur. But is this a fair assessment?

One well-known incident suggests that also members of the peasant class understood and knew how to direct the power of normative praise at the sovereign. It took place when Prince Frederik visited Norway in 1788. Norwegian peasant soldiers lined up along the way, dressed in uniforms and carrying banners and arms. This was no innocent declaration of loyalty. The Norwegian peasants were reminding the regent that they, the peasants of Norway, were to a large extent the ones manning his forces. They filled the ranks of the Royal Life Guards in Copenhagen, and they were the ones who had mutinied when Struensee decided to dissolve this force. The power of these loyal subjects was unquestionable: their resistance had caused Struensee to change his mind and allow the Royal Life Guards to remain.

The communication system of absolutism was complex. It was mostly top-down, but as scholars have increasingly noted, some impulses came from

32 Mathias Conrad Peterson, *Qvartbladet*, 22 (Trondhjem, 1798). Translation by the author.

below as well. One element of this communication has not received much attention either from political historians focusing on formal institutions or from students of the public sphere and the press: the all-pervasive presence of the panegyric, with all its elasticity and possibilities for expressing opinions and power. It was all about playing one's part, delicately balancing the norms and possibilities of the genre.

CHAPTER 15

Paradigms of Criticism in the Eighteenth Century: Some Considerations Concerning Publicity and Secrecy

Eivind Tjønneland

The relationship between public and private in the eighteenth century has been a much-discussed topic in the research literature of the last thirty to forty years. The models of Habermas and Koselleck have been a starting point for many publications about secrecy and publicity in the Enlightenment. This chapter will make a distinction that is a little more trivial in scope than the abstract models of Koselleck and Habermas (which are presented below). Both of those models are deeply anchored in their respective philosophies of history. The theoretical focus here, however, is more structural: It explores the limits to the publication of private experience set by *tacit knowledge*. Neither Habermas nor Koselleck mentions this concept, which presupposes structurally that we always know more than we can objectify in an enlightened discourse. The limiting force of tacit knowledge will be demonstrated with an example from eighteenth-century Denmark–Norway. My contention is that the bland rhetoric of one of the most important literary societies in Copenhagen during the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Society of Taste (*Det smagende Selskab*), demonstrated its dependence upon tacit knowledge very conspicuously. The empty phrases, of which there are many examples in their seven-volume series *Forsøg i de skønne og nyttige Videnskaber* (*Essays in the Beautiful and Useful Sciences*, from 1761–1783), are dependent upon tacit knowledge, communicated in private criticism. Although tacit knowledge is a condition for all communication, a group's *specific kind* of tacit knowledge defines its cohesion, competence, and exclusivity.

The use of rhetorical formulas is a part of the 'polite culture' of Enlightenment society. Polite culture embraced 'every aspect of manners and morals' and was 'a complete system of conduct'.[1] The polite use of language could very well be compared to diplomatic language today. 'Tacit knowledge' was acquired in the discussions and social interactions in salons, the *Tischgesellschaften*, the coffee houses, the societies, and the clubs of the Enlightenment. Tacit knowledge is

1 John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century,* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux 1997), p. 101.

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the 'shared secret' that creates social competence. The empty phrases supported by common practice demonstrate an equilibrium between private and public.

Polanyi's claim that 'we can know more than we can tell' warrants support in a pragmatic, Wittgensteinian sense. It is not necessary to discuss the concept of tacit knowledge in detail here, but a religious interpretation of Polanyi is excluded for the purposes of this discussion.[2] This non-explicable knowledge is not the same as the secret rituals of the Freemasons, which Koselleck uses to make his case. 'Tacit knowledge' is indeed a kind of secret, but a secret the participants share unconsciously. It is a capacity that cannot be fully rationalized. If the existence of such a phenomenon is accepted, it logically follows that there must be limits to Enlightenment as Kant defined it (as the 'public use of reason').

A short presentation of theories by Koselleck and Habermas of the relationship between private and public in the Enlightenment will be the starting point for this analysis, which will show how the official or public jargon of the Dano–Norwegian Society of Taste presupposed both tacit knowledge and private critique. This specific kind of harmonious relationship between private, secret discussions and publicity is an aspect of the Enlightenment that the theories of Habermas and Koselleck do not really take into account.[3] As this chapter will show, a similarly restricted concept of criticism characterized Schlegel's Romantic criticism of Enlightenment at the end of the eighteenth century.

The Theories of Koselleck and Habermas

Koselleck's main concern is with the dialectics of private morals and politics in the eighteenth century. For Koselleck, the early Enlightenment critique

2 In this respect I find Ray's attempt to combine Polanyi's 'tacit knowledge' with Anderson's 'imagined communities' interesting. Tim Ray, 'Rethinking Polanyi's Concept of Tacit Knowledge: From Personal Knowing to Imagined Institutions', *Minerva*, 47.1 (2009), pp. 75–92. Ray extends the concept of an imagined community to *all* communities: "In my analysis, *all* communities *are* imagined—tacitly—in the sense that interaction *within* and *among* them is shaped by what is known, but cannot be told." p. 87.

3 Such a dynamic, but restricted, dialectic of private and public is also found in the relationship between the private meetings of the *Mittwochgesellschaft* and the publications in the periodical *Berlinische Monatsschrift.* This is described, among others, by James Schmidt, 'The Question of Enlightenment: Kant, Mendelssohn, and the Mittwochsgesellschaft', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 50. 2 (1989), pp. 269–291.

of Pierre Bayle implied an infinite process of relativity in all fields of human knowledge and human history: "When Bayle grasped all fields of human knowledge and human history and thus implicated them in an infinite process of relativism, criticism became the proper activity of reason."[4]

The reign of criticism is negative because it always wants to improve upon our knowledge. The improvement becomes the *modus vivendi* of criticism, and the future ideal makes today's criticism relative. There exists a civil war on the spiritual battlefield, and when all critics fight against each other this will be an instrument of truth.[5] Thus, for Koselleck it is no coincidence that Bayle spoke of the 'republic of letters' ('*la République des Lettres*'). The dialectics of enlightenment according to Koselleck show how the inner, private freedom of thought, made possible by Hobbes's *Leviathan* via Bayle's republic of letters, expands into a bourgeois public sphere: the inner, moral conscience that was originally a secret, private refuge—freedom of thought from the absolutist state—becomes the new public and political force culminating in the French Revolution. Koselleck in his study of how criticism leads to political crisis analyses functions and structures on a very general level.[6] The only limits of 'der totale Anspruch der Kritik' [the total claim of criticism] in Bayle is, according to Koselleck, the omission of politics.[7] He argues in the following way: The Freemasons and the republic of letters function *indirectly* as a kind of shadow government. The secret societies and the critic both represent a reduplication of the state. But the Enlightenment critic does not understand his own role. Koselleck pictures him as a hypocrite, trying to be non-political but indirectly playing a political role. He describes how the clandestine during the eighteenth century comes more and more out in the open. He has, however, little that is positive to say about civil society and the new public sphere that emerges.

Many have compared Habermas and Koselleck, and some have seen Koselleck as the major influence of Habermas's work. Hohendahl states,

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4 "Indem Bayle mit der kritischen Methode bereits alle Gebiete des menschlichen Wissens und der menschlichen Geschichte erfasste und in einen unendlichen Prozess der Relativierung verwickelte, wurde die Kritik zur eigentlichen Tätigkeit der Vernunft" (translation mine). Reinhart Koselleck, *Kritik und Krise: Eine Studie zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Welt* (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973), p. 101.

5 Koselleck, *Kritik und Krise,* pp. 90–92.

6 Dena Goodman's characterization of this narrative is pertinent: "Koselleck's argument is elegant, as all good dialectics are. But the simplicity behind that elegance is also its weakness as historical explanation." 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory*, 31.1 (1992), p. 3.

7 Koselleck, *Kritik und Krise,* p. 94.

'Koselleck's *Critique and Crisis* and Habermas's *Structural Transformation* are more closely related than is commonly understood'.[8] Habermas takes most of his building blocks from Koselleck, turning Koselleck's pessimistic narrative of the Enlightenment into something of an ideal. In this transformation of Koselleck's 'pathogenetic' view of enlightenment, the secrecy of the private is lost. Habermas is clearly influenced by Koselleck's conception of enlightenment as a force compelling everybody to criticize everything. The principle of civil war within the republic of letters can of course be construed as an ideal, but there were empirical limits to this war. In this sense Koselleck—followed by Habermas three years later in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*—blurs the distinction between ideal and empirical reality. Habermas himself admitted to this mistake in his new foreword from 1990, where he claimed that his method "in fact seduces…to idealize the bourgeois public sphere more than the methodical concept of the ideal type meaningfully would allow for."[9] But Koselleck did not really describe the kind of public sphere in the eighteenth century that was Habermas's object in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Habermas admitted that secrecy in an early stage could prepare for publicity. "The unification of private people to a public is therefore made secret; the public sphere is anticipated through exclusion of publicity."[10] Habermas's conception of the public sphere in the eighteenth century presupposed that the private experience of intimate life and of trade and economy were made public. His concept of criticism is connected with the argumentative form of discourse in the literary and the political public sphere. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[11] the public discussions were not only argumentative, with the criteria of "generality and abstractness that characterize the norm of a law" [*Generalität und Abstraktheit, die die Gesetzesnorm auszeichnen*].[12]

8 Peter Uwe Hohendahl: 'Recasting the Public Sphere', *October*, 73 (1995), p. 30.

9 "verführt freilich […] zu einer Idealisierung der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit, die über den in der idealypischen Begriffsbildung angelegten methodischen Sinn von Idealisierung hinausschiesst". Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft.* Mit einem Vorwort zur Neuauflage (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1990), p. 34.

10 "Der Zusammenschluss der Privatleute zum Publikum wird deshalb im geheimen, Öffentlichkeit noch weitgehend unter Ausschluss der Öffentlichkeit antizipiert." Habermas, *Strukturwandel,* p. 95.

11 E. Tjønneland, '*Kultur- og livsstilsjournalistikken på 1700-tallet: En kritikk av Habermas' offentlighetsteori*,' in Karl Knapskog og Leif Ove Larsen (eds.), *Kulturjournalistikk. Pressen og den kulturelle offentligheten* (Oslo, Scandinavian Academic Press 2008), pp. 81–94. See also Tortarolo's chapter in this volume.

12 Habermas, *Strukturwandel,* p. 119.

Koselleck, on the other hand, described the secret societies without really focusing on the connection between secret and public, apart from the private, secret critique about excess leading to crises. As the next section will demonstrate, bland phrases in public combined with the private critique of the Society of Taste represent a different paradigm of the relationship between private and public.

"Det smagende Selskab"—a Test Case from Denmark–Norway

Habermas made a point about the equality of the participants in the public sphere of Enlightenment. But there are indeed differences of authority within the public sphere in the eighteenth century, and authority rests partly on secret knowledge that is more trivial that the mystique of the Freemasons. It is simply not the case that "the public reasoning of the bourgeois public in principle realizes itself through general rules by ignoring all social and political preformed ranks."[13]

The Society's *Forsøg i de skønne og nyttige Videnskaber* has been described as the most influential literary institution within the state in the second half of the eighteenth century, "without rivals in the literature at the time".[14] Members gave awards and published works that they found good, but the Society also had a private or secret side and hid its reasons for discarding some contributions and valuing others. We do, of course, know a little about the discussions within the society from Bolle Willum Luxdorph's diaries and some other sources. The point to be made in this connection, however, is that the secret and the public side of the Society presupposed each other. It is obvious that this society could not have functioned without both the private and the public realms: private meetings were necessary before they could make public announcements about prize-winners. Without this secret evaluation and decision-making there would have been no publicity.

The same volume in which the Society of Taste published a translation of Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* also includes an anonymous foreword ascribed to the secretary of the Society, Johann Heinrich Schlegel.[15] This is one of the very

13 "(…) das öffentliche Räsonnement des bürgerlichen Publikums vollzieht sich im Prinzip unter Absehung von allen sozial und politisch präformierten Rängen nach allgemeinen Regeln". Habermas, *Strukturwandel,* p. 119.

14 K.F. Plesner, *Det smagende Selskab* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal 1959), p. 44.

15 Svend Bruhns, *Bibliografiens historie i Danmark, 1700–og 1800–tallet* (Aalborg, Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2004), p. 126.

few critical manifestos in Denmark–Norway in the eighteenth century.[16] The criteria of criticism, however, are hidden behind panegyric jargon and empty phrases: “Criticism, the mistress of genius and the beautiful sciences, seems to receive more and more of her rightful acknowledgement.”[17]

Schlegel differentiates between public and private criticism. For him, the importance of private correction is greater than public criticism. To ‘admonish’ others in public [*offentlig at irettesette andre*] could indeed have a negative impact on the author. The Society of Taste entertained “another form of criticism, which could not be practiced together with the public” [*en anden Art af Kritik, som ikke kan udøves tillige med den offentlige*]. Manuscripts received comment “with the friendly voice of a counsellor” [*med en Raadgivers venlige Stemme*]. The critical intention was to “correct the mistakes or let the beautiful shine brighter” [*at rette Feilene, eller at forskaffe Skiønhederne en høiere Glands*]. This criticism lacked “the compelling voice of a judge” [*en Dommers bydende Røst*] and took the form of advice [*raadgivende Kritik*]. Schlegel stresses the importance of this kind of criticism:

> How many advantages has not this friendly and confidential criticism in comparison with the other, that judges those writings publicly, which already lies for the reader’s eyes![18]

Criticism in the form of advice functions as natural, unaffected speech. Schlegel quotes Pope: it “works without show, and without pomp presides.” He even poses the question of whether public criticism really could promote improvement

16 There was of course a lot of criticism in Denmark–Norway in the eighteenth century. This criticism has never been systematically described in research literature. John Chr. Jørgensen in his *Det danske anmelderies historie—Den litterære anmeldelses opståen og udvikling 1720–1906* (Viborg, Fisker & Schou, 1994), writes about 40 pages about the review article in the Enlightenment. He dates the first ‘critical’ review to 1741, when Thomas Christensen Clitau (1695–1754) wrote about *Et Lidet Orthografisk Lexikon* in *Kjøbenhavns Lærde Efterretninger* (Jørgensen, *Det danske anmelderies historie*, pp. 23–27). The most comprehensive study of criticism in Denmark–Norway in the eighteenth century is Eivind Tjønneland ed., *Kritikk før 1814—opplysningens litterære og politiske offentlighet* (Oslo, Dreyer, 2014).

17 Johann Heinrich Schlegel, ‘Fortale’, *Forsøg i de skiønne og nyttige Videnskaber. Samlede ved et patriotisk Selskab. Fierde Stykke* (Copenhagen, Nicolaus Møller 1766). 15 pages without pagina. [Kritiken, de skiønne Videnskabers og Geniets Veilederinde, synes ligeledes at komme mere og mere i sin tilbørlige Anseelse.]

18 Schlegel, ‘Forord’, 1766. “Hvor store Fordele har ikke denne venlige og fortrolige Kritik frem for den anden, som dømmer offentlig om de Skrifter, der ligge allerede for Publici Øine!”.

because "hurt love of one self can seldom be corrected." Criticism can do little to influence a writer of low quality, who has "an armour, which the sharpest arrows of criticism will never penetrate" [*"et Pandser, som Kritikens skarpeste Pile aldrig giennomtrænge"*]. On the other hand, if the writer is of higher quality, "too bitter criticism" threatens to make "such geniuses idle" and destroy their creativity.

The secret character of this private criticism obviously fits Koselleck's theory better than Habermas's conception of the public sphere in the eighteenth century. But the secret component of the Society of Taste does not undermine its public activities: it *supports* its public practice.[19]

When the Society announced its presence officially on 21 December 1759, it named no principles as the basis for its criticism. The members just wanted to support the sciences, the arts, and good taste:

> It is the generosity of the King that supports and encourages us in our project, according to our abilities to enforce the honour and the best of our country by enforcing a dispersion of a part of the sciences and the arts, and good taste among our country men.[20]

The Society announced that some sciences discover new truths and extend our knowledge and therefore must be judged according to *reason*. In contrast, other sciences improved the *heart* by presenting the truth in a way that awakens pleasant feelings in the soul. In poetics and rhetoric 'the heart' was the foundation of judgement.

In this way, the Society officially (or publicly) presented some general criteria and kept the discussions underlying the decisions for the awards a secret. The official criteria were so vague and so general that they left ample room for

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19 As the new *Norwegian History of the Press* claims, the Society was not founded in *opposition* to the state, but instigated and stimulated by a circle of men close to minister Bernsdorff. The state used the public sphere in order to promote its own interests, and this fact fits with neither Koselleck nor Habermas. Martin Eide and Hans Fredrik Dahl (eds.), *En samfunnsmakt blir til 1660–1880, Norsk presses historie 1660–2010* (4 vols., Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 2010), I. 74–75. Here the relationship between secrecy and the public are the main focus.

20 *Underretning om et Selskab, hvis Hensigt er at forfremme de skiønne Videnskabers og Smagens Udbreedelse*, (Kiöbenhavns Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger 21. december 1759). [Kongens Gavmildhed er det, ved hvilken vi understøttes og opmuntres i det Forset vi have, efter Evne at ville fremme Fædrenelandets Ære og Beste, ved at fremme endeel af Videnskabernes og Konsternes, samt den gode Smags Udbreedelse blandt vore Landsmænd.]

their pragmatic and unpredictable application. The Society used the following general criteria to describe how literary works should be judged:

> We will take on all types of poetical works, when they are not against religion, virtue, the mores and the modesty that should pertain to the worshippers of Sciences and Arts. Mean satire and indecent jokes we judge with contempt, as will all right thinking men.[21]

In the first volume from 1761, the Society published a prize-winning prose piece on the following theme: “What is the influence upon the beautiful sciences when enlightened and polite people try to surpass each other?” [“*Hvad Indflydelse det har i de smukke Videnskaber naar oplyste og polerede Folk stræbe at overgaae hinanden*?”]

At the end of the essay, we can read the same abstract jargon that was typical for the periodicals in the eighteenth century at large:

> Let truth alone be the content of an eloquent publication and a witty verse, its beauty will then unite with the sweetness which poetry and eloquence themselves add. And beauty will now be perfect, how able to evoke and deserve the purest love and sincere respect! The articulation of words and the liveliness of images please the imagination: the exact choice of words and manners of speech, the right choice fitting the topic pleases reason, but truth honourable expressed and well enlightened lets reason enjoy a sweetness that does not have to fear the distasteful.[22]

One of the many frustrating experiences in dealing with criticism in the eighteenth century is this abstract jargon, the same clichés repeated over and over

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21 *Underretning om et Selskab.* [Vi imodtage alle Slags poetiske Verker, naar deres Indhold ikke strider imod Religionen, Dyden, Sæderne, og den Beskedenhed, der især bør være Videnskabernes og Konsternes Dyrkere egen. Nedrige Satirer og uanstændig Skiemt have vi med alle Veltenkende tildømt den visseste Foragt.]

22 *Forsøg i de skiønne og nyttige Videnskaber. Samlede af et patriotisk Selskab. Første Stykke* (Copenhagen, Nicolaus Møller, 1761), n.p. [Lad da Sandheden alene udgiøre Indholden af et veltalende Skrift og et sindrigt Vers, dens Deilighed forener sig med det smukke og søde, som Poesie og Veltalenhed selv føie til, og hvor bliver nu Smukheden fuldkommen, hvor dygtig til at opvekke og fortiene den reneste Kierlighed og oprigtigste Høiagtelse! Ordenes Fald og Billedernes Livagtighed glæde Indbildningskraften: det nøie afpassede Val af Ord og Talemaader, den rigtige og med Sagen overensstemmende Indretning fornøie Fornuften: men Sandheden værdig udtrykt og vel oplyst lader Fornuften finde en Sødhed, som ei har at frygte for Afsmag.]

again about the harmony between imagination, reason, truth, and beauty. In contrast to the first volume of the *History of Norwegian Literary Criticism* from 1990,[23] René Wellek made general aesthetics and not only reviews a part of critical history.[24] He wanted to

> [...] steer a middle course between pure aesthetics on the one hand—'aesthetics from above,' speculations about the nature of the beautiful and about art in general—and mere pronouncements of impressionistic taste, unsubstantiated, unargued opinions, on the other.[25]

It is often problematic to determine the connection between these two aesthetic levels. Often we do not see the principles or paradigms behind the critical reviews, which use positive criteria such as 'Good taste' and the harmony between reason and imagination to critique 'bad taste' and the abuse of imagination. These concepts are so empty that how they even apply to specific cases is far from obvious. How does enlightenment mediate between the abstract and the concrete levels of criticism? The gap between the two levels is in this case filled by the tacit knowledge of private criticism secretly supporting the bland, official phrases.

All Enlightenment philosophy—empiricism, rationalism, and their synthesis in Kant's transcendental criticism—undertakes an analytical description of the human mind. In the popular journals we are presented with the same compartments of the mind (sensation, imagination, reason, judgement, and taste) without philosophical justification. This jargon expresses an Enlightenment paradigm that consists in abstraction: the mind is first analysed and dissected. This procedure generates the problem of putting the pieces together again, to make the machine function harmoniously. When the pieces do not fit together, the result is bad aesthetics, bad conduct, and human pathology. From an Enlightenment standpoint, harmony is the ideal; any excess of imagination not tempered by reason is both unaesthetic and unhealthy.

The criticism (only part of which is literary) undertaken in moralizing journals tries to sort out the bad syntheses and to promote the true, good, and happy human being. Both analysis and synthesis are parts of criticism. Towards the end of the century this harmony between nature and art, between the

23 Edvard Beyer & Morten Moi, *Norsk litteraturkritikks historie Bind 1: 1770–1848* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1990), p. 19.

24 René Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism: 1750–1950* (7 vols., New Haven-London, Yale University Press, Sixth Printing 1966), I. p. v.

25 Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism,* p. v.

private and the public, between body and reason becomes more difficult to attain. One symptom of the fragmentation of taste and polite culture is the rise of aesthetic autonomy at the end of the century. In contrast, as Terry Eagleton remarked in *The Function of Criticism*, at the beginning of the eighteenth century literary criticism was a part of 'a general ethical humanism, indissociable from moral, cultural and religious reflection'. Addison wrote in the *Spectator* that a critic should have insight into "all the parts of learning".[26]

The Hackneyed Phrases of Enlightenment as Expressions of Tacit Knowledge

One of the founders of the Society of Taste was Sneedorff (1724–1764). The same Enlightenment clichés as quoted above are demonstrated in Sneedorff's 'Letter to a young Writer' [*'Brev til en ung Skribent'*], where he mentions the necessary conditions for becoming an author. They are

> [...] Wit to invent, judgment to judge, a rich and lively imagination, a willing memory, and finally a natural good taste. These gifts are all enhanced more by reading good books and exercise, than all the rules of rhetoric.[27]

After Thomas S. Kuhn and Michael Polanyi it has become a commonplace that written communication presupposes tacit knowledge, a life world, and a common non-verbal ground. The abstract jargon about taste, imagination, wit, and judgement partly signals a common understanding that is not further explicated. What keeps much of the Enlightenment prose alive is what goes on behind the façade of apparently empty words.

Not everything can be made public or criticized by reason. According to Gadamer it was the hubris of the Enlightenment to try to do away with prejudice once and for all.[28] So even if the ideal of enlightenment was to criticize

26 Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism: From the Spectator to Post-Structuralism* (London, Verso, 1984), p. 18.

27 K.F. Plesner, *Jens Schelderup Sneedorff: En litterærhistorisk Monografi,* (Copenhagen, Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1930), p. 186. [Vittighed til at opfinde, Skiønsomhed til at dømme, en riig og levende Indbildningskraft, en villig Hukommelse, og endelig en naturlig god Smag, hvilke Gaver alle skierpes mere ved gode Bøgers Læsning, og ved egen Øvelse, end ved alle Rhetoriske Regler.]

28 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 4. Auflage (Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]), p. 261 ff.

everything, this was in fact an impossible project. The secrecy of the Society of Taste was neither that of Freemasons (Koselleck), nor that of secret congregations running a training camp of sorts for the public sphere (Habermas). Rather, it manifested itself in the opacity of an abstract jargon that demonstrates the power of conformity, of common behaviour. The use of jargon is also a display of power, a display of the kind of language that is acceptable. The clichés are not critical instruments of argument, but rather signals of power and affinity. The lack of originality and critical consciousness are even as typical of the Enlightenment as argument and serious philosophical thinking.

Koch's description of the Enlightenment era as the epoch of hackneyed phrases (*flosklernes tid*)[29] is substantiated by the quotations from the Society. In Plesner's dissertation on Sneedorff he discusses Sneedorff's conception of happiness as a sense of harmony with oneself. Plesner mentions that knowledge of oneself and the art of living ('*livskunst*') were for Sneedorff the means for obtaining that very harmony: 'Words like knowledge of oneself and art of living say so little to characterize an author. Perhaps one could with some justice contend that this blandness is symptomatic of the typical man of enlightenment.'[30]

But this very blandness hides a secret! A quote ascribed to the French diplomat Talleyrand formulates the idea well: "*La parole a été donné a l'homme pour déguiser sa pensée*" ["Speech is given to mankind to disguise his thoughts."] Behind the diplomatic phrases of polite culture there would be a lot of room for private manipulations and private criticism.

Bayle's Concept of Criticism

Under the heading "remarks on my being so bold as to criticize many authors", Bayle gave an example of his humility as a critic:

> I only add, that without exceeding the bounds of humility, a man may observe some faults in the books of famous men, and yet have a profound admiration for them. When subaltern officers, or even common soldiers, say freely that their generals have committed some faults in the course of a campaign, they are sometimes in the right; but they do not pretend to

29 L. Koch, *Oplysningstiden i den danske Kirke 1770–1800* (Copenhagen, G.E.C. Gad, 1914), p. 6.

30 Plesner, *Sneedorff,* p. 142. [Ord som selvkendskab og livskunst siger så lidt til en forfatters karakteristik. Måske kunde man med nogen ret påstå, at netop det intetsigende heri er symptomatisk for den typiske oplysningsmand.]

> be better qualified than they to command an army; they acknowledge themselves infinitely inferiour in capacity as well as in rank. That is my case.[31]

This analogy taken from military life illustrates Bayle's form of criticism, in which criticizing *everything* would be tantamount to mutiny. The analogy could hardly be called a principle because it is difficult to understand the similarity between a book and a general's actions. It is unclear in what sense a book is an action comparable to a military attack.

Bayle did not stop with this analogy. He added this quote from the second book of Cicero's *De Oratore*, where Cicero speaks of two laws of history: "Who does not know that the first law of history is, not to dare say any thing that is false, and to dare say every thing that is true."[32] Bayle claimed to have 'religiously' observed the first law but not always the second. Bayle's main work, his *Dictionnaire*, can as a whole be seen as a critique of his predecessor Louis Moréri's dictionary, *Le grand Dictionaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* (1674), which was revised many times before the turn of the century. Bayle wished to correct and improve upon—but not ridicule—Moréri. His goal was not philosophical or systematic: he wanted rather to offer precise observations within a limited field.[33] Bayle's prefaces to both the first and second edition of the *Dictionnaire* lack general principles of criticism, and he typically finishes by describing a particular case, namely how his presentation of the Mareschal de Luxembourg would differ from the one given in Moréri's dictionary.[34]

Some have argued that Bayle—like Descartes—operated with a concept of moral probability that was different from philosophical or mathematical truth: decisions were based on probability.[35] This argument would make it possible to combine Bayle's historical criticism with the pragmatic context of tacit knowledge. Bayle's understanding of criticism does not comprise everything: it recognizes limits to what we can know and say. The critic is a craftsman

31 Pierre Bayle, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical, The Second Edition, Volume The First* (London, Printed for J.J. and P. Knapton; D. Midwinter et al., 1734) 'Preface to the First French Edition', p. 7.

32 Bayle, *Preface,* p. 7.

33 Fritz Schalk, 'Eine neue Bayle-Deutung', *Romanische Forschungen*, 78. Bd., H. 2/3 (1966), pp. 383–398.

34 Pierre Bayle, 'Advertisement concerning the second French Edition' (London, 1734), pp. 16–17.

35 Sean O' Cathasaigh, 'Skepticism and Belief in Pierre Bayle's: Nouvelles Lettres Critiques', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 45. 3 (1984), pp. 421–433.

working with empirical sources. Eradicating the mistakes of his predecessor, Moréri, was a limited project. We see that Koselleck's presentation of Bayle is very different from what we have pointed out as the limited project of Bayle's historical criticism. Bayle does not support a total criticism.

Schlegel's Romantic Critique of Enlightenment

If we jump 100 years forwards in time to the early German Romantics, Friedrich Schlegel also saw a limited role for criticism. He means it ironically when he quotes Kant's statement from the introduction to the first edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* that "Our age is the proper age of criticism, to which everything must be subjected." ["*Unser Zeitalter ist das eigentliche Zeitalter der Critik, der sich alles unterwerfen muss.*"][36] In fact, Schlegel saw limits to the growth of criticism and was also clearly ironic in this statement:

> At the same time, I noted with sincere pleasure the progress of our country—not to speak of our age! The same age in which we too have the honor to live; the age that, to wrap it all up in a word, deserves the humble but highly suggestive name of the Critical Age, so that soon now everything is going to be criticized, except the age itself, and everything is going to become more and more critical, and artists can already begin to cherish the just hope that humanity will at last rise up in a mass and learn to read.[37]

Schlegel did not really believe that everything could or should be criticized, but he claimed that 'everything' was criticized but the epoch itself, "*ausser das Zeitalter selbst*". Obviously Schlegel wanted to criticize the basic assumption of

36 Immanuel Kant, *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (Riga, verlegts Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1781), p. 5.

37 Friedrich Schlegel, *On Incomprehensibility,* in *Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde and the fragments,* transl. Firchow (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press 1971), p. 261. "Zugleich hatte ich mit innigem Vergnügen die Progressen unsrer Nation bemerkt; und was soll ich erst von dem Zeitalter sagen? Dasselbe Zeitalter, in welchem auch wir zu leben die Ehre haben; das Zeitalter, welches, um alles mit einem Worte zu sagen, den bescheidenen aber vielsagenden Namen des kritischen Zeitalters verdient, so dass nun bald alles kritisirt seyn wird, ausser das Zeitalter selbst, und dass alles immer kritischer und kritischer wird, und die Künstler schon die gerechte Hoffnung hegen dürfen, die Menschheit werde sich endlich in Masse erheben und lesen lernen." Friedrich Schlegel, 'Über die Unverständlichkeit', *Atheneum* 3.2 (Berlin, Bei Heinrich Frölich 1800), p. 340.

'the age of critique', which Kant called the Enlightenment. Schlegel turned away from the Enlightenment and praised that which reason could not grasp and was therefore incapable of criticizing. There had to be something incomprehensible, he claimed. The '*Unverständliche*' [incomprehensible] was very important to Schlegel. He spoke about a line past which reason should not trespass, because the thing of most valuable for any human being should be kept behind a veil of darkness. For him, this incomprehensible point upheld all the other things. It would lose its power if dissected by reason. Schlegel thus undermined the 'age of critique':

> A great part of the incomprehensibility of the *Atheneum* is unquestionably due to the *irony* that to a greater or lesser extent is to be found everywhere in it.… But is incomprehensibility really something so unmitigatedly evil? Methinks the salvation of families and nations rests upon it.… Verily, it would fare badly with you if, as you demand, the whole world were ever to become fully comprehensible in earnest.[38]

Both at the beginning of Enlightenment (Bayle) and at its end (Schlegel) the limits of criticism are clearly stated. Therefore, it is rather odd that Koselleck in his construction of the 'dialectics of Enlightenment' followed Kant and presupposed a total criticism "to which everything must be subjected" ["*sich alles unterwerfen muss*"]. Koselleck worked with an idealized model but was far from the Enlightenment concept of empirical reality.

Conclusion

Koselleck does not really describe the complex interactions between the secret societies and the public activities of their members. It seems that the transformation of the private realm into a public sphere for him must have had totalitarian consequences, contributing to revolutionary terror, where nothing could be kept secret. But secrecy in the Enlightenment is not only a bad, private, and seemingly non-political sphere with unintended

38 Schlegel, *On Incomprehensibility*, pp. 263–268. "Ein grosser Theil von der Unverständlichkeit des Atheneums liegt unstreitig in der *Ironie*, die sich mehr oder minder überall darin äussert. […] Aber ist den die Unverständlichkeit etwas so durchaus Verwerfliches und Schlechtes?—Mich dünkt das Heil der Familien und der Nationen beruhet auf ihr; […] Wahrlich, es würde euch bange werden, wenn die ganze Welt, wie ihr es fodert, einmal im Ernst durchaus verständlich würde." Schlegel, 'Unverständlichkeit', pp. 346–351.

political consequences. It is also a necessary otherness to publicity. As Jodi Dean has pointed out, one way to analyse secrecy as a precondition for a functioning public sphere is to admit that not all participants have enough knowledge to form judgements. Most participants are believers. The believers have to believe that those who are supposedly competent have secret knowledge to back up their competence.

> The secret fills out the gap and conceals the inconsistency between the public supposed to know and the public supposed to believe. It holds open the possibility that the judging public will judge correctly, the possibility in which the believing public needs to believe.[39]

In addition, there are limits to enlightenment as Schlegel and Bayle understood it. On the basis of their theories and Polanyi's, enlightenment would seem incapable of rationalizing the tacit knowledge on which culture rests. Human beings would remain secrets to both themselves and others. This fact would counterbalance the excess of enlightenment described by Koselleck: in principle human beings cannot make everything an object of reflective knowledge. If we interpret Bayle and Schlegel in this way, their restrictions are to the point. Presupposing 'tacit knowledge', there could of course be more or less enlightenment or reflection. An argument claiming the necessary limits of enlightenment could indeed be an argument *for* as much enlightenment as possible. Hobbes attempted to stop the interrogators of the Catholic Church from torturing themselves into the secret thoughts of others. He put limits upon the state by differentiating between speech and action on the one hand and thought on the other. This definition of privacy is not necessarily compatible with the distinction between reflection and tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is often public, but nevertheless difficult or impossible to speak about. Hobbes's distinction was intended to promote the rights of the individual to keep secrets from the state, secrets which were reflective thoughts.

Could these two perspectives somehow be combined? Although they do not overlap, there could be said to be some common ground. All societies and also secret societies share tacit knowledge. Public or private communication always presupposes tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge would unconsciously determine what is being said to different people in different situations. The private-public distinction and the opposition between tacit knowledge and reflection partly cover different areas. Therefore, enlightenment should not

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39 Jodi Dean, 'Publicity's Secret', *Political Theory*, 29.5 (2001), p. 631.

be understood only as making the private public. This limitation of enlightenment would be compatible with the views of Bayle and Schlegel.

The pragmatic judgements of the Society of Taste are upheld by clichés. Their application transcends general rules and allows for private manipulation. That is one reason why the *je ne sais quoi* of taste is so important in the eighteenth century.

PART 4

Digital Transfers

CHAPTER 16

Research-Driven Collaborative Metadata Collection: Indexing and Digitizing Norwegian Periodicals, 1700–1820

Hege Stensrud Høsøien

The core tasks of scholarly research include finding, collecting, and organizing data, much of it printed (books, pamphlets, journals, newspapers, and all kinds of published texts). Bibliographic data are an obligatory part of scholarship: appearing in reference lists and footnotes, they enable readers to examine an author's sources, either for the purposes of validating information or to learn more about a subject. In research projects where texts are not only research tools but also objects of study, as for instance in the discipline of book history, bibliographic data take on an even more important role, both in the form of enumerative bibliographies (which present an organized listing of books) and descriptive bibliographies (which give systematic descriptions of books as physical objects).[1] In an essay called 'The importance of being bibliographical' Robert Darnton asks, "Why is bibliography important? If it is to be more than a list of titles, what use is it?" "The question", he adds, "has acquired new pertinence now that texts have become both more available and less trustworthy, thanks to the Internet."[2] This Chapter examines the role of bibliographic data in the design of the press historical research project 'Diversifying Publics and Opinions under Censorship: The Journals of 18th Century Denmark-Norway'. It will show how, in cooperation with the National Library of Norway, new and robust methods of collecting, organizing, and disseminating the bibliographic results of the research project were developed. An important result of this project is that the data have been made available not only to those taking part in this particular research project, but also to researchers seeking to use the data in order to ask other and possibly very different questions. The project has thus contributed not only to the growth of knowledge in the fields of Scandinavian book history and cultural history, but also to the development of

1 Fredson Bowers, *Principles of bibliographical description* (Winchester, St Paul's Bibliographies, 2005).

2 Robert Darnton, *The Case for Books: Past, Present and Future* (New York, Public Affairs, 2009), p. 131.

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the general research infrastructure in the human sciences. I will try to show how developing an open data infrastructure is becoming a task of primary importance in the burgeoning field of research that now goes under the name of digital humanities.

During the planning of the research project 'Diversifying Publics and Opinions under Censorship: The Journals of 18th Century Denmark-Norway', the National Library of Norway was invited to collaborate by digitizing a selection of Norwegian eighteenth-century periodicals in its collection. Serving as the infrastructure for research is an important part of the National Library's mandate, and it fulfills this role by providing the research community with access to its collections, by digitizing documents that are of interest to the research community, and by promoting new research and insights into the materials in the library's collections. While individual researchers and research groups are interested in digitizing in the short term and gaining easy access to the particular materials on which they are working, a public library has a commitment to digitize according to procedures that are robust and ensure long-term sustainability. This means making as much digitized material as possible accessible to the general public and also using accepted international standards for digitizing, storing, and producing metadata. For this reason, a public library will try to include digitization on demand in its general digitization program. This means cataloguing and indexing documents before digitization for online use by the general public. This procedure, rather than simply digitizing and sending files out to individual researchers, ensures the long-term retrievability of these materials.

At the time the research project was being planned, the National Library had considerable experience with its large-scale, automatized program for digitizing books, and it was ready to move ahead with a similar program for periodicals (as well as for other genres and media types). For different reasons, this ambition would prove more difficult to realize than originally expected. The first unexpected challenge came when the Norwegian government decided upon a significant increase in the rate of digitization overall and an accelerated process leading to access to digitized *books*. In 2009 a radical extended collective licensing agreement called Bokhylla (the Bookshelf) had been agreed upon between the National Library and Kopinor, an organization representing Norwegian authors and publishers. The agreement gave all users with a Norwegian IP address free access to 50,000 Norwegian books published in three decades: the 1790s, 1890s and1990s. In 2012, the project was positively evaluated by both parties and the agreement was extended to printed books published in Norway until and including the year 2000. As of 2013, a full 130,000 books have been digitized and made freely available, and the

agreement allows for an additional 250,000 titles by 2017. This means that approximately 35,000 books will have to be digitized every year. This ambitious goal will obviously affect the digitization plans for other parts of the collection, including journals.

The second reason why the decision to extend the digitization program to periodicals proved more difficult than expected was specifically related to the material itself. The sheer material *diversity* of the eighteenth-century periodicals came as a surprise, if not to the librarians, at least to the engineers setting up the digitization programs. This unexpected technical challenge in fact proved one of the research project's main hypotheses: that the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a print culture in Denmark-Norway whose diversity was later lost. This holds true also for the materiality or formats of the periodicals, which show a considerable variation with respect to size, structure, and content. It is not uncommon for a periodical from this period to contain a single text, or for several editions of a journal to contain a single text that has been printed over several installments. While some periodicals ran regularly and for long periods of time, others came out in only a few editions, or with surprising irregularity. They also frequently changed their names. Many of these periodicals have a graphical layout that makes it difficult to decide where one text ends and another begins, and more often than not the individual articles within the periodicals do not have titles. The question of what constitutes a journal proved to be more than just academic: it presented a real technical challenge to librarians and engineers when it came to formulating the algorithms for an automated production line for digitization.

Despite these challenges, or rather because of them, the National Library of Norway decided to accept the invitation to join this research project in order to use the digitization of a limited collection of eighteenth-century journals as a pilot project. As a consequence of this decision, the researchers were invited to choose eighteen Norwegian journals from the eighteenth century for digitization. Already at this very preliminary stage, the collaborative project proved itself very useful for gaining better knowledge about the collections. The selection process uncovered lacunae in the National Library's collection, and this discovery led to cooperation with the Gunnerus Library in Trondheim, the Special Collections Department at the University Library in Bergen, and the Royal Library of Denmark, all of which assisted in lending and digitizing documents to fill in the gaps in the National Library's digital collections.

The production of metadata poses one of the biggest challenges to digitization programs. Bibliographic metadata must be in place before one starts to digitize so that the library knows what has been digitized and where it is located; the metadata tells end users exactly what kinds of documents they

have before them (for example, a first edition of a book as opposed to a subsequent edition, which may well have been abridged, modernized, or otherwise altered). Metadata are also necessary in order to link relevant documents, such as different books by the same author or various editions of the same book. In short, we need metadata to enhance identification, searches, and semantic interoperability. The production of metadata has always been one of the core activities of the libraries, but the processes of launching and continuously expanding ambitious digitization programs pose challenges for the traditional way of producing metadata. Previously it was done manually, albeit systematically, by librarians, and even though electronic catalogues have long ago replaced the old card indexes, producing metadata has remained a meticulous and time-consuming task. Generating metadata for retrospective digitization programs while at the same time keeping up with the ever-accelerating influx of newly published material is a real challenge. One solution is to go for crude automated extraction of metadata during the digitization process, an approach that Google Books has taken, with unhappy results.[3] Another solution to this problem, one that for some time has been the source of buzzwords at library conferences, is user-generated metadata, or crowdsourcing. Historically, the *Oxford English Dictionary* provides one of the earliest examples of crowdsourcing during the last part of the nineteenth century. An open call was made for contributions by volunteers to identify all words in the English language and provide examples of their usage in the form of quotations. More than six million submissions were received over a period of seventy years. Today, Wikipedia is probably the most famous example of crowdsourcing in the domain of academic knowledge, but crowdsourcing is also being used extensively by libraries in order to gather information about their collections. So far, crowdsourcing has mostly been used for those parts of library collections where the metadata are very sparse and the number of documents to be described is so vast that it is simply unrealistic to approach their digitization in the same way that has been done for books or journals. For example, crowdsourcing has played an important role in digitizing photographic collections for publication on the web with information solicited from users, who provide it in a more or less structured manner.

Since automated extraction of metadata for this collection of eighteenth-century Norwegian journals was not an option, the National Library looked for another solution. At the core of the research project 'Diversifying Publics and Opinions' lies a close examination of eighteenth-century journals. The project's

3 Geoffrey Nunberg, 'Counting on Google Books', *Chronicle of Higher Education* (published online 16 December 2010) <http://chronicle.com/article/Counting-on-Google-Books>.

researchers announced upon starting cooperation with the National Library that they would create a database with the information gathered from this inspection. The exact nature and format of the data to be included in the database had not yet been decided, but it was clear that what they would be gathering is what libraries call metadata, or data about data. The researchers agreed to give these metadata to the National Library, in the format and following the standards the library required for cataloguers to be able to integrate them efficiently into the library catalogues. This meant presenting the data in a form that came as close as possible to MARC (Machine-readable cataloguing), an international standard for bibliographic data.

The National Library thus received high-quality metadata that could only have been generated by researchers who had considerable experience working in the given fields and could use their experience and knowledge in dealing with this particular corpus. The result was metadata that were research generated, not simply user generated. One of the great challenges of using crowdsourcing as a method to create metadata is maintaining the quality of data thus gathered. While crowdsourcing makes it possible to generate large amounts of metadata, it also makes it impossible for the library to check the quality of each submission. The best the library can do is to check selections at random in order to estimate the average overall quality. Using traditional crowdsourcing forces the library to accept metadata that it knows may contain erroneous information. However, in the case of this collaborative project, the quality of the metadata was very high, indeed much higher than what could have been expected from library cataloguers working on the same material.

What kind of information was involved? Researchers noted data in a number of categories. Some comprised typically descriptive metadata: titles, names, publishers, and publication dates. The researchers contributed information on more than 700 people, including authors and people named in the periodicals, with their proper names, genders, and dates of birth and death. They also identified pseudonymous and anonymous writers, writers and institutions that changed their names over time, etc. A surprising number of items had no title or signature and proved to be translations or abridged versions of previously published texts, with no attribution to the original author. In such cases only a knowledgeable researcher in the field could identify the texts accurately. In addition to these traditional bibliographic data, the researchers also contributed data about literary genres and gave both specialized and general key words to describe content in a structured way. These data, examples of so-called semantic enrichment, enable the library to build user interfaces that allow users to move easily between, for instance, all book reviews or all literary contributions of a certain periodical. This kind of information also makes it possible to follow

subjects like 'topography' or 'love', two themes that were eagerly discussed during the period on which the research project focuses. Generating this kind of metadata also allows for crude bibliometric analysis (i.e. using bibliographic data for quantitative analysis of literature).

Data like these very often end up in a proprietary database, owned, for instance, by publishers of academic journals (or stored on a researcher's laptop hard drive, or—in a best case scenario—on a web page on the Internet). Publication on a web page can in theory be a useful and convenient way for the researchers working on a project and all other interested parties to have free and easy access to the data. But in practice, these data may be inaccessible to those who don't know exactly where to look for them, like researchers in other domains. The data that resulted from the cooperation between 'Diversifying Publics and Opinions' and the National Library were made open and accessible in a very different way. They were integrated in the core of the library's central system. The data given to the National Library went into BIBSYS, Norway's largest collaborative library catalogue, which unites more than 120 libraries, among them all the university and research libraries. BIBSYS's holdings include the National Bibliography, so the research data from the project that went into BIBSYS not only contributed to the National Bibliography, it also enriched the collaborative catalogue for all libraries, librarians, and end-users.

After entering the data into BIBSYS, the librarians in the National Library tagged all of the bibliographic records belonging to the project in order to present them as a whole, and they took this opportunity to start building a bibliography on Norwegian periodicals 1700–1820.[4] The bibliography lets users navigate through journals and their contents, with a direct link to the digitized material. Containing 18 periodicals and more than 1,800 articles, the project is slated to grow until all of the 67 periodicals from the period have been digitized and indexed. The BIBSYS metadata were used to build a robust and integrated bibliographic service especially designed for the needs of this particular research project. This is an important lesson from the bibliographic part of the project: integrated solutions can include particularized solutions, and building robust, integrated solutions ensures that a database will continue to expand and survive technological changes. Too many important but unsustainable databases have been largely abandoned and left to slowly decay after short, intense bursts of creative effort connected to completed academic research projects.

BIBSYS also holds the National Library's Authority Register of Names for persons, institutions, and corporations. The register establishes and guarantees

4 *Norwegian Periodicals 1700–1820*, accessible via internet: <http://www.nb.no/bibliografi/notids1700>.

one authoritative identity for every name, so that we can identify and correctly attribute documents that use names in different forms, names that change their form in translation, documents signed by pseudonymous or anonymous writers, or documents signed with nondescript titles that were known to the public of their own time but are forgotten today (as, for instance, when an editor whose name was common knowledge to readers of the time signed an article 'The Editor'). Here is an example that illustrates how the project has supported the work of the register. The digitized periodicals contain nine articles related to the ancient Greek rhetorician and satirist Lucian. Eight of them are translations of his texts into Dano-Norwegian, while the last one is a biographical article about him written in 1764 by Peter Friderich Suhm and published in *Tronhiemske samlinger*. Lucian's name appears in eight different forms in the Norwegian Authority Register, including once as Pseudo-Lucian because some of the works in question are no longer considered genuine works of Lucian. Most of these name forms are taken from articles in eighteenth-century periodicals registered for this project. Thus, by contributing data to BIBSYS, the researchers also contributed to and expanded the Norwegian Authority Register. The Norwegian Authority Register, and the names it contains, is exported to the Virtual International Authority File, where each country takes responsibility for its national authorities.

Now, this is all very technical, and some might wonder, is this system of collecting, identifying, and integrating metadata really relevant for research in the humanities? I would argue that it is fundamental for at least three different reasons. The first reason has to do with the crucial question of *openness*. Open Source, Open Access, and Open Data are different but related movements that share a common ideal: that certain data should be available for all to use freely and republish as they wish, without restrictions from copyright, patents, or other types of control. Where Open Source wants to make software source codes available for anybody to use or modify and Open Access wants to give unrestricted public access to the *results* of research, the published books and articles, Open Data wants to make the research data themselves, and in particular the research data generated by publicly funded research, available to other researchers and the public at large. By Open Data we mostly mean BIG DATA and the Life Sciences. The kinds of data generated by research projects in the humanities are usually 'small' in comparison, but they are nevertheless of vital interest to other researchers, librarians and libraries. The Norwegian Research Council, the Norwegian government, and the European Union have already recommended movement towards Open Data, and in the near future open access to research generated data will probably become an important criterion for receiving public funding for research projects. It is therefore time

to think about how to develop efficient and sustainable models for making research data open.

The collaboration between 'Diversifying Publics and Opinions under Censorship' and the National Library of Norway may represent one such model. The decisions made for this project—to share research data, to present them in a structured (i.e. a technological, machine-readable) and internationally recognized format like MARC, to make them available within a larger context, like the collaborative library catalogue—all these decisions contribute to making the generated research data *open*. The Norwegian Agency for Public Management and eGovernment publishes data sets as Open Data on their pages Data.norge.no, with the aim of making public information more accessible to citizens and public agencies. Among the datasets available are two to which this research project has been contributing. One is the dataset of the library database itself; the other is the dataset of the Virtual Authority Register.

A second reason why the integrated collection and treatment of metadata for this particular research project may serve as a model has to do with the concepts of *Linked Data* and the *Semantic Web*. Very crudely, these concepts can be said to represent the movement from the stage where human agents identify and forge connections between web pages and data to a new stage where machines can make these connections automatically. In order for machines to be able to do this, we need to describe data and the relations between them in a way that is readable to machines, and to provide open access to large corpuses of this type of data. An example of such a corpus of structured data published in Norway is the National Authority register, published as linked data on Data.norge.no and on DbPedia.

A third reason why this particular research project may serve as a model, is the development of new fields in the humanities and social sciences in which bibliographic data play a significant role. These fields, which include digital humanities, culturomics, content analysis, corpus linguistics, and computational linguistics, are indicative of new trends in the humanities and social sciences towards using quantitative analysis of digitized texts as a central research tool. Researchers use data mining of large digital archives in order to investigate cultural, social, and linguistic phenomena. As libraries digitize their collections, researchers can shift their focus from the close reading of a few canonized texts to 'distant reading' of enormous digital libraries.[5] This shift in methodology increases the demand for digital textual corpuses that come with reliable metadata.[6] Greg Crane describes the current situation in his contribution to *A Guide to Digital Humanities*:

5 Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London, Versus, 2013).

6 Franco Moretti, *Network Theory, Plot Analysis* (Palo Alto, Stanford University, 2011).

> The World Wide Web spurred a generation of pseudo-publication: documents more broadly available than any print publication in history could at any given time reach millions of machines. The same documents often ran, however, under individual accounts, with many URLs being changed or pointing to documents that were no longer online or, arguably worse, that had been substantively changed since the original link had been added. A variety of library repositories are now coming into use.[7]

The libraries can fill the role of trusted repositories, guaranteeing long-term, high-quality storage and persistent, location-independent resource identifiers like URNs—along with quality digitization and reliable metadata to accurately identify materials. And while descriptive and authoritative metadata will be important in the future, we will also need to develop pragmatic ways to describe and represent the contents of texts in a form that is both machine-readable and suitable for scientific research.

Until recently the focus on bibliographical production in the National Library has been to strengthen research infrastructure by offering the research communities bibliographies as a service. Today, however, the Library also seeks to incorporate research data and theoretical models from the academic community into its activities in a collaborative effort.

To conclude, the research project 'Diversifying Publics and Opinions under Censorship' has shown how scholarship can be more than the critical accumulation of knowledge: it also contributes to the development of research tools that are of critical importance as text-based disciplines undergo a paradigmatic shift because of digital technology. The project also shows the crucial importance of integrating the capacities and competencies of research libraries during the planning stage in order to ensure that the right decisions are made concerning standards for data collecting. Traditionally, library involvement in scholarly research has been confined to the beginning and end of the research process, taking the form of furnishing relevant sources and collecting the final published results. For the type of research based on digital resources and handling, from the perspective of traditional humanistic research with large amounts of data, the library has a role to play throughout the process and becomes a repository not only for the published results, but also for the digital sources collected or created in the course of the research project, as well as for the catalogues developed.

7 Greg Crane, 'Classics and the Computer: An End of the History', in Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Humanities* (Malden MA, Blackwell, 2004), p. 54.

CHAPTER 17

Indexing the Enlightenment: Remarks on Digital and International Transfers in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals

Flemming Schock

Introduction: Making 'Key Media' Available

Walking around in a German bookstore in the mid-eighteenth century may well have been a depressing experience: Where had all the books gone? Complaints in the media about the disappearance of books in the face of a massive, unceasing tide of periodicals were common in the second decade of the century. As it seemed, Germany was experiencing its second periodical revolution since the invention of weekly and daily newspapers in the seventeenth century.[1] Journals were essential not only for communication about scholarly developments and daily life but also for the major role they played in 'self-fashioning': they had become *grand mode*, as we can glean from the title of Marcus Hunold's early German-language bibliography of journals, *Curieuse Nachricht Von denen Heute zu Tage grand mode gewordenen Journal* (…) *Schrifften* (1716).[2] In the preface of his summary, Hunold marks the change in media history quite clearly: "It seems that a lot of bookstores shouldn't be called bookstores anymore, but rather journal stores."[3] It was hard to keep

1 See, e.g. Volker Bauer and Holger Böning (eds.), *Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bremen, Lumière, 2011).

2 Marcus Hunold, *Curieuse Nachricht Von denen Heute zu Tage grand mode gewordenen Journal-, Quartal- und Annual-Schrifften/Darinnen Die einige Jahre her in Teutscher/ Lateinischer/Französischer/Italiänischer und Holländischer Sprache häuffig geschriebenen Journale erzehlet/Und bey denen meisten gemeldet/ Wer selbige verfertiget/ wenn sie angefangen/aufgehöret/oder ob sie noch biß itzo continuiret werden, Nebst beygefügten, unpartheyischen Urtheilen und andern curieusen Observationibus* (Leipzig-Jena, 1716). On this, see Thomas Habel, 'Das Neueste aus der *Respublica Litteraria*: Zur Genese der deutschen "Gelehrten Blätter" im ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert', in Volker Bauer and Holger Böning (eds.), *Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bremen, Lumière, 2011), p. 307.

3 "Nachdem es fast den Anschein gewinnet/daß viele Buchläden nicht mehr Buchläden/ sondern Journal-Läden heissen möchten." Hunold, *Curieuse Nachricht*, fol. v.

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track with "all the journals flying around",[4] another contemporaneous observer confirmed as early as 1714. And 50 years later, the *Dänisches Journal*, published in Copenhagen and Leipzig (1767–1770), noted the following:

> Soon 100 years will have passed since periodicals were introduced to the learned world and became fashionable. No book genre has been able to explode with that degree of success in this era.... And still [periodical literature] remains en vogue.[5]

This judgment applied especially to the periodical press in the decentralized Holy Roman Empire: during the eighteenth century between 500 and 800 erudite journals were published there, including both long-lived and ephemeral projects.[6] But even if it was hard to keep track of the exploding numbers of new periodicals, their value was widely undisputed for the contemporary scholarly world. Or, as the *Dänisches Journal* put it, "You may say of the periodicals what you will—all in all you can't deny how necessary and useful they are."[7] Another German bibliography of periodical literature, published in 1790, sounds more enthusiastic while looking back on the achievements of the periodical press in promoting the exchange of ideas and the development of a public sphere: "The journals have become the repositories of human reason [die Vorratskammern des menschlichen Verstandes]: they preserve the greatest treasures of the human mind and make them available for public consumption."[8]

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4 Christian Friedrich Hoffmann, *Aufrichtige und unpartheyische Gedancken: über die wichtigsten Materien, welche in den Journalen, Extracten und Monaths-Schrifften vorgetragen werden* (Leipzig, 1714), p. 12.

5 "Bald werden hundert Jahre verflossen seyn, seitdem die periodischen Schrifften in der gelehrten Welt eingeführet und Mode geworden sind. Keine Art von Büchern hat sich in diesem Zeitpunkte so zahlreich gehäufet als diese.... Und noch scheinet der Moment nicht da zu seyn, daß sie aus der Mode kommen sollen." Josias Lorck, *Dänisches Journal* (Kopenhagen/Leipzig, 1767), preface.

6 On this generally, see Thomas Habel, *Gelehrte Journale und Zeitungen der Aufklärung. Zur Entstehung und Erschließung deutschsprachiger Rezensionszeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen, Lumière, 2007).

7 "Man mag von den Journalen sagen was man will, so kann man doch, überhaupt genommen, ihre Nothwendigkeit und ihren Nutzen nicht leugnen." *Dänisches Journal*, preface.

8 "Die Zeitschriften sind ... die Vorratskammern des menschlichen Verstandes geworden, in ihnen liegen die größten Schätze des menschlichen Geistes zum allgemeinen Gebrauch"; Heinrich Johann Christoph Beutler and Johann Christoph Friedrich Gutsmuths, *Allgemeines Sachregister über die wichtigsten deutschen Zeit- und Wochenschriften* (Leipzig, 1790), p. VI.

This assessment regarding the relation between the Enlightenment and its media is the focus of a research project at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, *Learned Journals as Networks of Knowledge in the Age of Enlightenment*.[9] It started in 2011 and is slated—as a long-term project—to run until 2025. The point of departure for the study is the imbalance between the widely recognized significance of journal culture for the transfer of Enlightenment ideas and the painful fact that most of the periodical publications of the eighteenth century have been neither sufficiently explored nor readily available to researchers.[10] Because of this imbalance the Göttingen project stands out among mass-digitization and long-term projects aimed at archiving historical sources:[11] its goal is more far-reaching because it extends beyond providing historical journals in a digital form and also encompasses the aim of 'unlocking' the rich cosmos of knowledge preserved in the journals and making them searchable through a systematic online database.[12] The database realizes the content and structure of German Enlightenment journals on an entirely new level, exploring and indexing innumerable articles, news, reviews, debates, essays, and reports. To illustrate this 'deep approach' of the Göttingen project,

9 *Gelehrte Journale und Zeitungen als Netzwerke des Wissens im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*.

10 A short remark is in order on the research in Germany. Already in 1974, the scholar and librarian Paul Raabe published a path-breaking and 'classical' article about *The Journal as the Medium of Enlightenment*: Paul Raabe, 'Die Zeitschrift als Medium der Aufklärung', *Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Aufklärung,* 1 (1974), pp. 99–136. Since then, a lot of deserving studies have clarified the essential linkage between the whole new dissemination of knowledge and the success of the periodicals on the one hand and the structural change of the 'enlightened' public sphere on the other hand. For Germany, see, e.g. Holger Böning, *Welteroberung durch ein neues Publikum. Die deutsche Presse und der Weg zur Aufklärung. Hamburg und Altona als Beispiel* (Bremen, Lumière, 2002); Böning also published an essential bibliographic reference book on Hamburg, Germany's 'printing capital' of the periodical press in the seventeenth and 18th centuries: Holger Böning and Emmy Moepps (eds.), *Deutsche Presse. Biobibliographische Handbücher zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen periodischen Presse von den Anfängen bis 1815. Kommentierte Bibliographie der Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Intelligenzblätter, Kalender und Almanache sowie biographische Hinweise zu Herausgebern, Verlegern und Druckern periodischer Schriften* (2 vols., Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Frommann-Holzboog, 1996–1997).

11 The digitization is a result of the close cooperation with the university libraries in Göttingen and Munich and the new online portal *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts* (VD18.de). The VD18 is a centralized venture for a retrospective national bibliography for all German 18th century publications—including journals. It will also digitize all monographic prints (and also, if possible, all periodic prints).

12 See www.gelehrte-journale.de.

it may be instructive to give some cursory remarks on the past and recent digitization of journal media in Germany.[13] A second main section of this paper will deliver a few additional remarks on the linkage and interchange of European learned journal media of the eighteenth century.

A Short Review: Historical German Journals on the Internet

Not even two decades ago, scholars who wanted to research eighteenth-century journals came upon two main obstacles: the often incomplete state of these journals' yearly volumes, and the problem of locating individual issues of periodicals, which were often scattered among various libraries and preserved almost exclusively in the form of user-unfriendly microfilm. Thanks to digitization, this situation is a thing of the past. When it comes to digitizing in general, there is, of course, no way around the dominance of Google Books. In Germany, the public-private partnership between Google and the Bavarian State Library in Munich has given great momentum to the digital transfer of library stocks and placed countless early modern print works and periodicals in virtual storage.[14] So it is no surprise that Google Books also provided some of the resources for one of the smaller ventures concerned with German Enlightenment periodicals: *Repertory of German Scientific Periodicals of the Eighteenth Century*, based at the University of Wuppertal.[15] Created in 2008, this project gives access to a broad section of digitized learned journals from 1660 to 1815, particularly science and mathematics periodicals of scientific academies.[16] The most prominent journal of the project is certainly the Latin *Acta Eruditorum*, one of the most influential and internationally renowned scholarly journals of that time.[17] Started in 1682, it was published monthly for nearly 100 years in the

13 This review can't claim to be complete—its purpose is to highlight some focal points.

14 See <http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/Massendigitalisierung-im-Rahmen-einer-Public-Private-Partner.1842+M57d0acf4f16.0.html>.

15 *Repertorium deutscher wissenschaftlicher Periodika des 18. Jahrhunderts* <http://www.izwtalt.uni-wuppertal.de/repertorium/MS/Main.html>.

16 However, the focus is not exclusively on learned journals, as the *Repertory* also gives access to a small selection of rather popular and general scientific periodicals from the second half of the eighteenth century; namely, the *Hamburgisches Magazin* (1747–1763), the *Neues Hamburgisches Magazin* (1769–1781), the *Leipziger Magazin zur Naturkunde, Mathematik und Ökonomie* (1781–1789), the *Magazin für das Neueste aus der Physik und Naturgeschichte* (1781–1799), and the *Archiv für die reine und angewandte Mathematik* (1795–1800).

17 The *Acta* is one of the few European journals to which a special study was devoted, remarkably by a non-German scholar: Augustinus Hubertus Laeven, *The 'Acta Eruditorum'*

prolific city of Leipzig. The *Repertory* uses digitizations from Google to provide links to the *Acta*'s volumes going back to the journal's beginnings. But the additional value is that the project features structured (albeit limited) access to the fragmented content not only of the *Acta*, but of all digitized periodicals, with the titles and captions of every separate journal article transliterated in the form of structural data. Thus users can easily access the journals' contents and (most importantly) search through the titles and authors of 13,000 articles from 400 volumes.

As a single effort this directory is quite representative of the early stages of transferring early modern journals to the digital world. Periodical literature had come later than books to the digitization process. Researchers hoping to find digitized journals on the Internet had to depend upon rather scattered and isolated results from various digitization projects, but these projects nevertheless supplied comprehensive, important tools for research. For example, the Klassik Stiftung Weimar project from 2010 to 2012 made available three important German periodicals from the late eighteenth century.[18] One of them, the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (1785–1849), "was the most highly circulated and perhaps one of the most popular and influential literary review periodicals in a German-speaking region".[19] The online edition offers not only digitized volumes of the journal, but also structured access to individual articles and their contents.[20] Compared to the Wuppertal project, Klassik Stiftung Weimar takes its indexing and enrichment with structural data a step further by also placing articles within thematic categories like law or medicine. This systematic coverage of the journal's content is useful for statistical inquiries about how many articles deal with specific subject areas: a search using the key word 'economy', for instance, generates more than 1,000 hits.

A second project is the largest undertaking to date in the retrospective mass digitization of German journals. The database *Journals of the Enlightenment* at the University of Bielefeld, which started in 2002, provides digital reconstructions of the most important literary and review journals of the German

under the editorship of Otto Mencke (1644–1707). The history of an international learned journal between 1682 and 1707 (Amsterdam, Holland University Press, 1990); see also Ulrich Hensing, '*Acta Eruditorum* (1682–1782)', in Heinz-Dietrich Fischer (ed.), *Deutsche Zeitschriften des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Pullach, 1973), pp. 29–47.

18 See <http://www.klassik-stiftung.de/index.php?id=1317>. The project was funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*.

19 Ibid.

20 The digitizations were provided by the Thuringian University and State Library in Jena.

Enlightenment.[21] This archive is still growing,[22] but it already gives access to an impressive 160 journals and approximately 1 million pages. Its wide scope offers points of contact for various disciplines in the humanities. The initial level of access resembles that of other indexing projects: one can navigate through the journals either by browsing issue by issue and page by page, or one can use the framework of the available Metadata (authors and titles of all articles are transcribed in machine-readable text). For targeted queries one can utilize a set of search boxes and limit the search to particular years of publication, journals, authors, titles of articles or reviewed books, or, most importantly, catchwords and keywords. The possibility of performing catchword searches sets this project apart from the ones in Wuppertal and Weimar. And even though OCR (Optical Character Recognition) is not offered in the database, the keywords provide something similar to a 'real' full-text search, because they derive from the actual content of the material and result from actual readings of the many articles in the digitized journals. This observation points to a link between the past and future work on Enlightenment journals at the Academy in Göttingen. The Bielefeld digitization project relied on an earlier project for data and indexing work: a Göttinger venture called *Index of German Periodicals 1750–1815*.[23]

Learned Journals and Digital Transfers—The Example of Göttingen

The short sketch above shows that the Göttingen project *Learned Journals as Networks of Knowledge in the Age of Enlightenment* arose out of a context that began with the massive work and tradition of two older long-term projects from 1976. In other words, the interest in research on eighteenth-century journals preceded, at least in Göttingen, the digital age. The oldest of the previous projects is the just-mentioned *Index of German Periodicals 1750–1815*. It ran for over eleven years and indexed almost two hundred mixed literary and general popular journals, mainly from the second half of the century, and made more than 100,000 articles available first in print and

21 *Retrospektive Digitalisierung wissenschaftlicher Rezensionsorgane und Literaturzeitschriften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*; <http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufklaerung/index>.

22 The third and last project phase (running from 2011–2013) adds another thirty-one periodicals; for the list, see <http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufklaerung/zeitschriften.htm#phase3>.

23 *Index deutschsprachiger Zeitschriften 1750–1815*.

microform and later, in the past decade, in digital form.[24] Again, the project was not focused on scientific or learned journals because that gap had already been closed by a related project, the *Index of German Review Periodicals 1700–1784*.[25] Funded for over 20 years (1987–2007), this index registered book excerpts and reviews from the most important interdisciplinary German journals of the eighteenth century. It is important to keep in mind that the main task of the learned journals of that time was to provide abstracts (rather than critiques) of recently published books (cf. Oscarsson in this volume). The *Review Index* recorded mainly reviews, altogether roughly 75,000 of them from 64 journals between 1700 and 1784. But of course the index included more than just reviews. The multifaceted structure of the periodical landscape contained diverse announcements and news tidbits, for example notes about deceased scholars and reports about scientific discoveries and developments within various institutions.[26] All of these categories or types of information were digitally processed into an online database, which has been accessible since 2007.[27]

The project *Learned Journals* is directly linked to the preparatory work of the *Index of German Review Periodicals*. In fact, it completes the previous project by adding 63 periodicals to the 64 review journals already recorded in the *Index*. The database will eventually give access to roughly 1,300 volumes of learned journals and a total of 850,000 pages of material.[28] The first step toward

24 Klaus Schmidt (ed.), *Index deutschsprachiger Zeitschriften, Autoren-, Schlagwort- und Rezensionenregister zu 'Deutschsprachige Zeitschriften 1750–1815'* (10 vols., Hildesheim, Olms, 1997).

25 *Systematischer Index zu deutschsprachigen Rezensionszeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts*. In its first phase, the *Index* was funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (1987–1996); in the second phase it received funding from the union of German academies (*Akademieunion*).

26 One prominent topic among the scientific discoveries that was discussed repeatedly in the eighteenth-century journals was the lightning rod. Various authors contributed their suggestions for the improvement of lightning rods—and their thoughts about where to install them. The journal *Litteratur des katholischen Deutschlands* of 1786, for instance, published a review about the reference book *Anleitung, Wetterleiter an allen Gattungen von Gebäuden auf die sicherste Art anzulegen*—Instruction about the secure attachment of lightning rods on various sorts of buildings; *Litteratur des katholischen Deutschlands, zu dessen Ehre und Nutzen, herausgegeben von katholischen Patrioten*, 6.3 (Coburg, 1786), pp. 356–358.

27 See <http://adw.sub.uni-goettingen.de/idrz>.

28 See www.gelehrte-journale.de. The web page is available in German, French, and English.

completing the database is, of course, digitizing the additional 63 periodicals.[29] But the main anchor of the project is a second, supporting step: recording the content and structure of each digitized page. Eleven research associates from the cooperating libraries and academies of Göttingen, Leipzig, and Munich are in charge of this process. The already massive database they have generated promises to grow even more in upcoming years.

Visitors conducting searches using the database can expect results that follow the design illustrated in Fig. 17.1. A first section called 'Artikel/Gelehrte Nachricht' ('article/scholarly news item') represents the internal structure of the journal and its bibliographical information. Via thumbnails web-site users can access digitized pages of the journal directly; the section also notes the titles of corresponding articles (and their possible authors)[30] and specifies each type of article or text (whether one is dealing, for instance, with a book review or a news item—a basic distinction essential for indexing and structuring the data from journals). For example, a search that turns up a book review will include a second section called 'Besprochenes Werk' ('reviewed book'), which provides a whole set of bio-bibliographical information. This dataset is linked with already existing and standardized data in various bigger library network catalogues.[31] But the actual—and intellectual—core of the project's indexing is the already mentioned inclusion of key- and catchwords in a third section called 'Inhaltserschließung' ('index'). These words are designed to make distinctions that relate to topics, geography, and personal information.[32] Their purpose is to concentrate information and to abstract the subject matter

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29 The digitizations are offered in close cooperation with the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts* (vd18), and the Göttingen State and University Library.

30 Due to reasons of censorship, most of the articles in the journals that are examined here were published anonymously. See, e.g. Thomas Habel, *Deutschsprachige Rezensionszeitschriften der Aufklärung. Zur Geschichte und Erschließung*, in in Peter Albrecht and Holger Böning (eds.), *Historische Presse und ihre Leser. Studien zu Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, Intelligenzblättern und Kalendern in Nordwestdeutschland* (Bremen, Lumière, 2005), p. 55f; see also Wiebke Hemmerling, *Totschlag mit der Feder? Zur Kontroverse um das anonyme Rezensionswesen in der deutschen Frühaufklärung*, in Frauke Berndt and Daniel Fulda (eds.), *Die Sachen der Aufklärung* (Hamburg, Felix Meiner Verlag, 2012), pp. 163–169.

31 Like the *Union Catalogue* (GVK), the common library network of seven German federal states (Hamburg, Bremen, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Lower Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, Thuringia and the Foundation of Prussian Cultural Heritage); see <http://www.gbv.de>.

32 Sachschlagwort, Geographisches Schlagwort, Personenschlagwort.

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Anmerkungen :	Die Rezension berichtet von der Gründung der Norwegischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Trondheim und ihrer Bedeutung für die Wissenschaft in Norwegen. Neben der königlichen Bestätigung vom 17. Juli 1767 werden ein Mitgliederverzeichnis sowie Johan Ernst Gunnerus als Direktor und Niels Krog Bedel als Sekretär namentlich erwähnt. Des Weiteren werden Arbeiten von Gunnerus, Baade, Parelius und Suhm ausführlich besprochen. Aus dem Beitrag Suhms wird eine längere Passage abgedruckt.
Katalogeintrag :	http://gso.gbv.de/DB=2.1/PPNSET?PPN= 167770187

Inhalterschließung	
Systemstelle :	NATURKUNDE | Allgemeine Werke |Vermischte Schriften mehrerer Verfasser, Periodika *(Nat.1.2.)*
Geogr. Schlagwörter:	• Norwegen
Sachschlagwörter :	• Gelehrtengeschichte
Bewertung :	neutral
Projekt :	Gelehrte Journale und Zeitungen der Aufklärung (GJZ 18)

FIGURE 17.1 *Sample query in the database* Gelehrte Journale der Aufklärung.
IMAGE: © AUTHOR

of specific articles. For example, if the topic is the admission of foreign members to the Swedish Academy, the researcher can designate the keywords ‘Stockholm’ (geographical), ‘Svenska vetenskaps academien’ (general), and also ‘foreign members’ and the names of the corresponding persons (personal). A user conducting a search on the social structure and fluctuation within the

Swedish Academy would therefore turn up all of the articles on this topic from about 128 German journals. The alignment of keyword strings with every article can be compared to the full-text search offered by OCR, but the *Learned Journal* project uses a more precise and systematic approach. The difference between the two approaches lies in the way the project locates, in a final step of section three, every single piece of information in a scientific taxonomy of the eighteenth century. In its choice of terminology and overall concept, the project leans on the encyclopedic structure of Johann Samuel Ersch's *Allgemeines Repertorium der Literatur für die Jahre 1785 bis 1790*,[33] which contains sixteen separate subjects,[34] each with several sub-branches. The main category of natural history (Naturkunde), for instance, is structured into the subcategories of general works (Allgemeine Werke), physics (Physik), and geology (Geologie). This systematic grid has two advantages. First, it offers an 'exploratory' way of navigating through the topics and contents of the journals. Those seeking to browse through parts of the database rather than make specific inquiries can click their way through the data collected in the journals. In this way a user could, for example, investigate the ramifications of the taxonomic system or see how many publications or news items fall within the thematic branch of Rome in the world of antiquity ('Systemstelle' Gesch.6.4.). The second advantage to this system is easy to imagine: it represents a rich tool for statistical conclusions about the thematic structures of diverse learned periodicals, about academic (and international) activities, and about knowledge production in general.[35] Here it is also important to mention that the project's work and research attempt to reconstruct the concrete networks and scientific debates of the eighteenth century in an intelligent way. A noteworthy part of the journals' contents are discussions about book reviews or other articles, and the *Learned Journals* project maps these evolving critical discussions, placing them within chronological trees and showing how the different fragments and communicative layers of these debates relate to each other. In the year 1749/1750, for instance, a scholarly dispute between Johann Karl Brettschneider and Friedrich Carl von Moser emerged about the question of

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33 Johann Samuel Ersch, *Allgemeines Repertorium der Literatur für die Jahre 1785 bis 1790, 1791 bis 1795, 1796 bis 1800*, (8 Vols., Jena, 1793–1807). On this, see Habel, *Deutschsprachige Rezensionszeitschriften*, p. 61f.

34 Wissenschaftskunde, Philologie, Theologie, Jurisprudenz, Medizin und Pharmazie, Philosophie, Pädagogik, Staatswissenschaften, Kriegswissenschaften, Naturkunde, Technologie und Gewerbekunde, Mathematik, Geographie, Geschichte, Bildende Kunst, Literargeschichte, Vermischte Schriften.

35 The extensions of the database were still under construction as of November 2013 but were slated to be available to the public soon.

juridical pedantry. Various journals not only commented on the issue and published reviews of the pamphlets of both authors, they actually helped to launch a public controversy that migrated to the pages of the learned journals.[36] The controversy developed its own public dynamic as journalists attacked each other over their reviews and prominent contemporaries like Albrecht von Haller entered the fray.[37]

These few remarks can give only the outlines of the Göttingen approach to bringing German eighteenth-century journals into the digital future and making them fully accessible—and useful—to the modern user. The final goal of the *Learned Journals* project is to provide extensive documentation of the complex and multilayered discourses of the Enlightenment and to increase the scope and intensity of their exploration. The project is probably not the last word on how to deal with the source material, but it is one way to go beyond mere incoherent digitization and cataloging. The project also hopes to cross-link with similar ventures in other countries and to see journals as a 'pan-European' network of the eighteenth century.[38] But first, a few additional words about international transfers are in order.

International and Textual Transfers in Eighteenth-century German Periodicals[39]

Even if the Göttingen project focuses on German journals exclusively,[40] the 'transnational' nature of the early modern media republic is self-evident and well known. As was the case with newspapers, learned and academic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries responded to a market that was neither

36 Brettschneider published his *Schreiben von der juristischen Pedanterey an Herrn Friedrich Carl von Moser* in 1749; Moser defended himself shortly afterwards with an *Antwort-Schreiben von der juristischen Pedanterey* (1750). Brettschneider's pamphlet was reviewed in the *Göttingische Zeitungen*, while Moser's answer generated reviews in the *Freymüthige Nachrichten von neuen Büchern und andern zur Gelehrtheit gehörigen Sachen* (Zürich, 1750), and the *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen* (Jena, 1751).

37 In 1752, Haller published an article in the *Göttingische Zeitungen* (pp. 49–53) on the preceding review of Moser's book in the *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen*.

38 For Norway, see the database on *Norwegian periodicals 1700–1820*. <http://www.nb.no/bibliografi/notids1700/>, and the article by Hege Stensrud Høsøien in this volume.

39 The following thoughts are mainly based on queries in the project's database www.gelehrte-journale.de. The results may and will differ in the future, when the database has grown further.

40 This 'national limitation' is justified for practical reasons.

regional nor a self-contained system. Rather, aspects of international transfers were at the heart of the medium from the beginning. Already the world's first scientific periodicals, the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Journal des Sçavans* (both founded in 1665), which served as a model for many periodicals to follow, manifested the internationality of the European republic of letters—even if they didn't use Latin as their lingua franca anymore. Therefore it comes as no surprise that most of the learned journals in Germany were eager to report scientific developments in the neighboring countries.[41] In the first decades of the century the *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*,[42] one of the earliest and most longstanding leading learned periodicals in Germany, appeared in Leipzig in 1715 and reported on the northern European scientific 'landscape'. Due to the lively exchanges among intellectual elites in the Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian countries, there was undoubtedly a need for a periodic and steady flow of communication. Two factors served to promote the internationality and textual transfer within the system of periodicals. First, virtually all German eighteenth-century journals copied, translated, and edited whole articles from foreign periodicals, and the *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* served as the vanguard in this regard. During the publication period of the journal (1715–1784), roughly 20 percent of the actual content was based on translated and mostly shortened articles from European journals based in London, Amsterdam, Paris, and northern capitals. The first mention of a Swedish periodical and its contents appears in the *Neue Zeitungen* in 1721.[43] The article under the caption 'Uppsala' illustrates not only the international perception of Scandinavian periodicals, but also how deeply and effectively the textual adoption from one journal to the other worked. The article's anonymous author announces the establishment of the journal of the Royal

41 Of course, this also applies in the other direction—to Scandinavian scientific culture and its journals; on this topic, see Andreas Önnerfors, *Translating discourses of the Enlightenment: transcultural lingual skills and cross-references in Swedish and German eighteenth-century learned journals*, in Stefanie Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2010), pp. 209–230.

42 See Rüdiger Otto, *Johann Gottlieb Krause und die Neuen Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, in Hanspeter Marti and Detlef Döring (eds.), *Die Universität Leipzig und ihr gelehrtes Umfeld 1680–1780* (Basel, Schwabe, 2004), pp. 215–328.

43 The first reference ever in the *Neue Zeitungen* to the Swedish republic of letters appeared already in the first year of publication, 1715, when an article under the heading 'Lund in Schonen' reports about the University of Lund and the appointment of its prochancellor Matthias Steuche as archbishop; *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, 19 (Leipzig, 1715), p. 152.

Academy in Uppsala beginning in 1720. The German description of the periodical outlines briefly its (quite typical) programmatic character:

> Last year a new journal was published here under the following title: Acta Literaria Sveciae.... Each trimester consists of four sheets, and the authors promise short extracts of the latest new books published in Sweden, ... and also reports of physical, anatomical, chemical, botanical, mathematical, historical, critical, and other observations which can be sent to them, and also a description of recently deceased scholars.[44]

The article also gives a shortened and edited translation of the first issue of the *Acta literata Svecia Upsaliae publicata*. However, this adaptation is sufficiently detailed to give the German audience an overview of recent developments in the Swedish print market and the republic of letters. This process intensified by mid-century as a result of the formation of further academies: for example, in 1739, the *Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien* was founded in Stockholm, and its corresponding periodical, the *Handlingar*,[45] drew the attention of German periodicals. (The *Handlingar* even appeared in German translation starting in 1749.)[46]

The second aspect of this international linkage of European journals was that periodicals were not just agents of exchange across national contexts and borders: they were active 'transmitters' in the internationalization of science communication and learned cultural transfer.[47] A case in point is certainly

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44 "Allhier ist verwichnes Jahr ein neues Journal unter folgendem Titel heraus kommen: Acta Literaria Svecia.... Jedes Trimestre besteht aus 4 Bogen, und die Verfasser versprechen von denen jährlich in Schweden heraus kommenden Büchern in kurtzen Extracten, wie auch von denen künfftig zu hoffenden Schrifften Nachricht zu geben, Physische, Anatomische, Chymische, Botanische, Mathematische, Historische, Critische und andere Observationes, die ihnen etwan dörfften eingeschickt werden, einzurücken, und der kürtzlich verstorbenen Gelehrten Leben zu beschreiben"; *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*, 26 (Leipzig, 1721), p. 201.

45 *Kungliga Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens handlingar* (Stockholm, 1739ff.).

46 Abraham Gotthelf Kästner and Heinrich Friedrich Link (translators), *Der Königl. Schwedischen Akademie der Wissenschaften neue Abhandlungen aus der Naturlehre, Haushaltungskunst und Mechanik* (Leipzig, 1749). The database of the Göttingen projects lists nearly 200 for the *Handlingar* up to now.

47 In this sense, they contributed to Europe's transformation "into a single intellectual arena"; Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 142; for the paradigm of 'cultural transfer' in the Enlightenment, see also, e.g. Stefanie Stockhorst, 'Introduction. Cultural

August Ludwig von Schlözer's review periodical *Neueste Geschichte der Gelehrsamkeit in Schweden* (1756–1760). Schlözer, one of the leading intellectual figures of his time,[48] had already published articles in the Swedish journal *Swenska Mercurius* and spent a few years in Sweden, before deciding to release his own journal, which aimed at informing the German-speaking world about Swedish research. In the preface to the first issue, Schlözer outlines this intention quite clearly:

> I am in the fortunate position of not having to prove the utility of my work. One only needs to know that the sciences in Sweden are now flourishing more than ever and that …most Swedish books don't reach Germany at all (and the news of them is very rare)—and one knows everything I might say in my own defense.[49]

His plan was to provide abstracts of the newest publications, dating no further back than 1750.[50] Schlözer was certainly neither the only nor the first to publicize and popularize the achievements of Swedish scholarship on the pages of a journal. He was, however, the first to place an emphasis on German-language reviews of Swedish books. In the same year that Schlözer began his *Neueste Geschichte*, Carl Ernst Klein's *Stockholmisches Magazin*[51] (1754–1756) ceased

transfer through translation: a current perspective in Enlightenment studies', in Stockhorst (ed.), pp. 7–28.

48 See Heinz Duchhardt and Martin Espenhorst (eds.), *August Ludwig (von) Schlözer in Europa* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2012). See also the article by Mathias Persson in this volume.

49 "Ich habe das Glück, des mühsamen Beweises überhoben zu seyn, daß meine Arbeit nicht überflüssig seye. Man darf nur wissen, daß die Wissenschaften in Schweden jetz mehr als jemals blühen und daß sie mit der Errichtung der Stockholmischen Akademie der Wissenschaften einen neuen Zeitpunkt angefangen. Man darf nur wissen, daß die meisten Schwedischen Bücher gar nicht, die Nachrichten von denselben aber ungemein selten nach Deutschland kommen, so weiß man alles, was ich zu meiner Rechtfertigung sagen kann." August Ludwig Schlözer, *Neueste Geschichte der Gelehrsamkeit in Schweden*, 1 (Rostock, 1756) preface, fol. 3v.

50 The whole contents of Schlözer's periodical can be searched in the database of the *Learned Journals* project. It is not surprising that we also find various (positive) reviews of the *Neueste Geschichte* in contemporary journals, for instance, in the *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (Göttingen, 1757), pp. 186–189.

51 Carl Ernst Klein (ed.), *Stockholmisches Magazin: darinnen kleine schwed. Schriften, welche d. Geschichte, Staatsklugheit und Naturforschung betreffen, nebst neuen Berichten von d. königl. schwed. Academien d. Wiss. (…) mitgetheilet werden* (Stockholm, 1754–1756). Mixed reviews of the journal can be found in the following German periodicals: *Tübingische*

publication after only two years. However, the focus of Klein's magazine had been restricted to natural sciences and politics: it did not contain any book reviews. About the same can be said about the much earlier quarterly[52] *Schwedische Bibliothec*, published by the Swedish-born Christian Nettelbladt from 1728 to 1736 in Stockholm and Leipzig. In the *Bibliothec*, we encounter the same purpose as in Schlözer's later journal—breaking language barriers and geographical restrictions in the transfers of books:

> My sole intention with this project is to amass a Swedish library so that, piece by piece, in the form of full texts or excerpts, those who don't speak Swedish or aren't able to get Swedish prints because of the distance can learn about and refer to them.[53]

And finally, as Nettelbladt continues, the 'Schwedische Erudition' is much better than many may suspect.[54]

Almost simultaneously, similar efforts took place in the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway. Already in 1738, the first issue of the *Dänische Bibliothec* (1737–1744), published in Copenhagen, "lamented the lack of publicity given to Danish-Norwegian erudition in the wider world over many years".[55] And in 1754, at the same time as the *Stockholmisches Magazin* was launched, the German theologian and educator Anton Friedrich Büsching released his monthly journal *Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Wissenschaften und Künste in den königlich dänischen Reichen und Ländern* both in Copenhagen and

Berichte von gelehrten Sachen (Tübingen, 1755), pp. 112–115; *Freye Urtheile und Nachrichten*, 12 (Hamburg, 1755), pp. 580–582; *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (Göttingen, 1756), p. 1344.

52 The quarterly frequency blurs the distinction between a periodical and serial medium.

53 "Ist nur bei diesem Vorhaben mein Absehen/ eine Schwedische Bibliotheck zu colligiren/ in welcher Stückweise/ aus Liebe gegen diejenige/ welche theils der Schwedischen Sprache nicht mächtig; teils auch wegen der Entfernung sich in Schweden gedruckte Schriften nicht anschaffen können/ alles dasjenige entweder völlig; oder auch nur Extracts-weise soll communiciret werden/ was man zu denen 4. Facultäten derer gelehrten (…) immer referiren kan und mag." Christian Nettelbladt, *Schwedische Bibliothec: in welcher verschiedene so wohl zur alten, als neuern schwedischen Civil-, Kirchen- u. gelahrten Historie gehörige Schrifften gesammelt* (Stockholm/Leipzig, 1728), preface. A positiv review of the *Schwedische Bibliothec* can be found in the *Niedersächsische neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* (Hamburg, 1730), pp. 700–702.

54 Nettelbladt, *Schwedische Bibliothec*, preface.

55 Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 144. A positive review of the *Dänische Bibliothec* was published in the *Göttingische Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* (Göttingen, 1743), pp. 527–528.

Leipzig.[56] But Büsching's monthly, unlike the *Stockholmisches Magazin*, contained book reviews. Its success continued under Flensburg-born Josias Lorck, another German immigrant to the Danish capital. Lorck, had already published various articles in Büsching's magazine and edited the *Fortgesetzte Nachrichten vom Zustande der Wissenschaften und Künste* from 1758 to 1768.[57] In the preface to the latter work, he admitted that the print market—at least in Germany—was already flooded with journals, except the ones that deal with the transfer between Scandinavia and Germany. Reflecting upon both the German and Danish readers, he writes,

> The learned monthlies are in such great supply that their enthusiastic readers almost tremble at the announcement of a new one. But even if we were to start publishing these news items right now [by this, he refers to the *Fortgesetzte Nachrichten* as a continuation of Büsching's journal], we would be sure to find a good reception among the German readers, because the German monthlies report little about Danish books and matters, and German scholars have often complained that the publications of Danish scholars are hardly known and hard to come by.... As for our Danish readers, Denmark isn't flooded yet with journals of this kind, so we needn't fear the complaints of our fellow countrymen.[58]

The fact that he continued to publish for over ten years suggests that Lorck was successful in addressing his readership in both Germany and Denmark. He

56 Anton Friedrich Büsching, *Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Wissenschaften und Künste in den königlich dänischen Reichen und Ländern* (Kopenhagen, 1754–1757). It received reviews in the journal *Vollständige Einleitung in die Monatsschriften der Deutschen*, 3 (Erlangen, 1754), pp. 91–95, and in the *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen*, 6 (Jena, 1754), pp. 274–280.

57 Josias Lork (ed.), *Fortgesetzte Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Wissenschaften und Künste in den Königl. Dänischen Reichen und Ländern* (Kopenhagen/Leipzig, 1758–1768).

58 "Die gelehrte Monathsschriften häufen sich freylich so sehr, daß den Liebhabern derselben fast bange werden muß, so bald eine neue angekündiget wird.... Wenn wir auch diese Nachrichten gegenwärtig erst anfiengen, so könnten wir uns doch den Beyfall und die gute Aufnahme derselben bey deutschen Lesern versprechen, da in denen deutschen Monathsschriften von dänischen Büchern und Sachen wenig vorkommt, und die Gelehrten Deutschlands sich öfters beklaget haben, daß ihnen die Schriften der gelehrten Dänen wenig bekannt werden, und noch seltener zu Gesichte kommen.... Was unsere dänischen Leser betrifft, so ist Dänemarck noch nicht mit so vielen Schriften dieser Art überschwemmet, daß wir von unsern Landesleuten einige Klagen befürchten dürften...." Lorck, *Fortgesetzte Nachrichten*, preface, fol. 2r.

extended his journalistic ambitions when he took over the *Dänisches Journal* in 1767, applying the same programmatic arguments ten years later to the Danish quarterly, but even more emphatically. The number of new journals, especially in Germany, may have become overwhelming, but what was still missing was the type of specialized periodical that focused on scholarly developments in one country whose language was spoken among a broad audience. And that is exactly what Lorck wanted to deliver with the *Dänisches Journal*:

> We will limit our scholarly reports to the Danish territories, but also keep in mind the German provinces that make up part of the Danish Empire. However, we cannot restrict ourselves to any particular field of studies. Instead we will engage ourselves with the scholarship and news of all scholarly fields.[59]

It is no coincidence that one review of Lorck's newest journal appeared in August Ludwig von Schlözer's *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*.[60] For Schlözer, who himself helped to inform a German-speaking audience about Scandinavian scholarship, the importance of Lorck's *Journal* was beyond all doubt. His critique focused on the journal's irregular publication, a condition that seemed to reduce its impact on the republic of letters:

> If the authors would keep their word to deliver four issues every year, to announce the newest publications, and especially to provide us critical, detailed, and fruitful extracts from the recent and most important works of Danish scholars—their journal would be far more important for the Germans and Danish than it currently is.[61]

59 "Denn wir werden uns in diesen gelehrten Nachrichten bloß auf die dänischen Staaten einschränken, aber auch auf die sämmtlichen königl. Dänischen Reiche und Länder, die deutschen Provinzen mit eingeschlossen, unser Augenmerk richten. Dagegen können wir uns an keine besondre Wissenschaft binden, sondern wir werden uns auf die Bücher und Nachrichten aus allen Wissenschaften einlassen müssen." Lorck, *Dänisches Journal*, 1767, preface.

60 *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (Göttingen, 1770), pp. 972–974.

61 "Wenn die Herrn Verfasser bey ihrem anfangs gegebenen Worte blieben, richtig alle Jahr ihre 4 Stücke lieferten, immer die neuesten Schriften anzeigten, und uns besonders von den ohnlängst erschienenen wichtigen Werken dänischer Gelehrten ausführliche, kritische, und fruchtbare Auszüge schenkten: so könnte ihr Journal für Deutsche und Dänen ungleich wichtiger werden, als es noch zur Zeit ist." *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, pp. 973–974.

Conclusion

Schlözer's reference to the rather precarious existence of Lorck's *Dänisches Journal* shows that for new journals success was not guaranteed, despite all the enthusiasm for the cross-border communication of science and print culture. The funding of many periodicals not affiliated with any academic institution proved to be insecure, and that is one reason why many ephemeral journals disappeared from the scene very early. However, the 'pan-European' circulation and junctions between the learned media of the eighteenth century were structurally ensured—through ubiquitous 'textual transfers' (when translated and edited extracts from foreign journals appeared in German journals) and through special 'transfer-journals.' In this sense, German-language journals (as well as journals in other languages) proved, in fact, to be real 'agents of change': they created the conditions for embedding specific national contexts into the greater framework of a decidedly European communication process. Thus, the periodic media brought great changes in the way national scholarly cultures took notice of developments beyond their own geographic boundaries and language barriers.

As I suggested in my earlier remarks on digital transfers through the Göttingen project *Learned Journals,* the project and its database are intended as devices for a deeper understanding of this development: indexing the journals' contents makes their fundamentally international 'texture' visible. Such initiatives could serve as an impulse for more transnational research on historical journal media in the future.

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